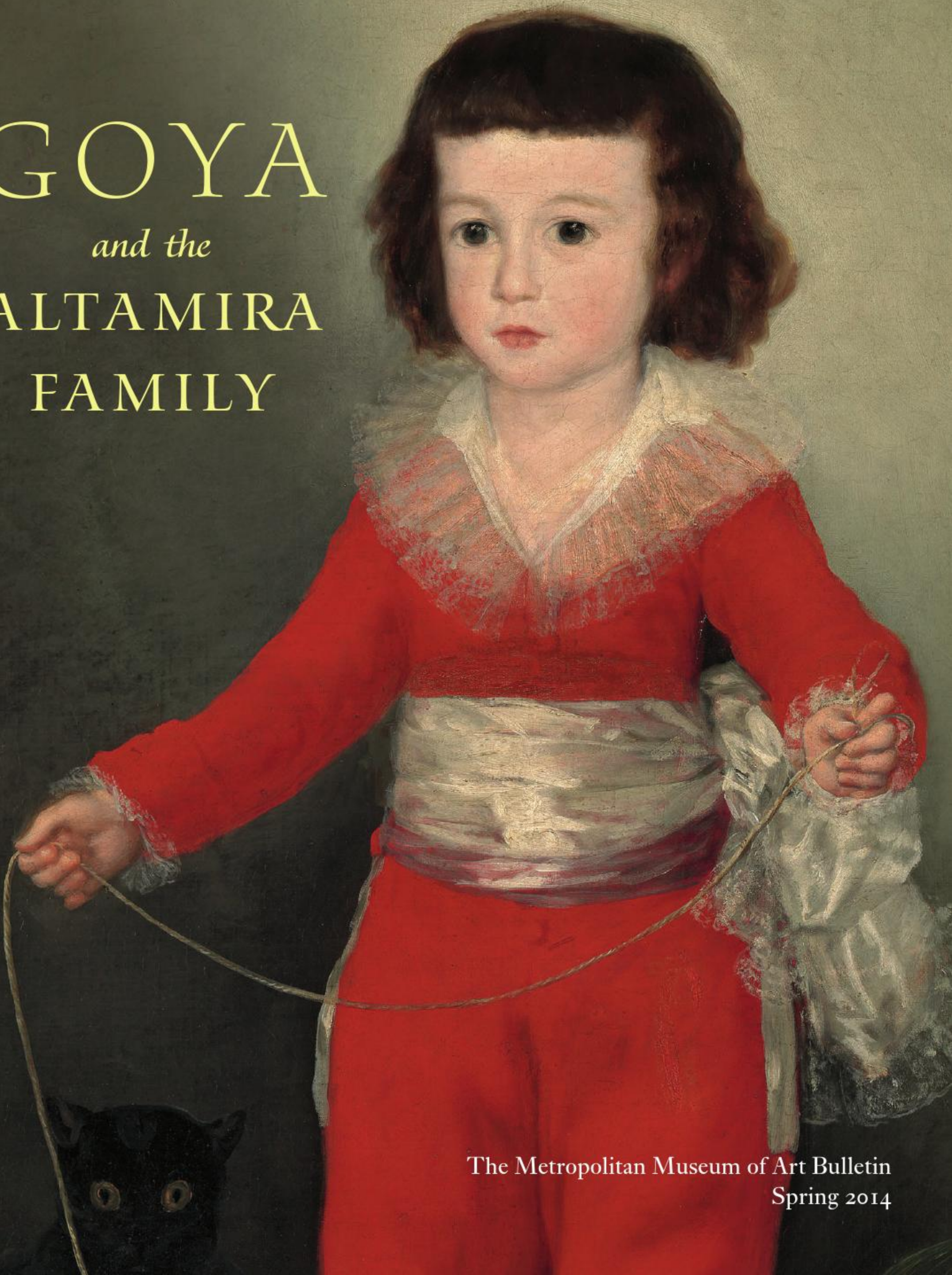


GOYA
and the
ALTAMIRA
FAMILY



The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin
Spring 2014



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ALTAMIRA
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XAVIER F. SALOMON



The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

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Back cover: Goya, *María Ignacia Álvarez de Toledo, Condesa de Altamira, and Her Daughter María Agustina*, 1787–88 (detail; see fig. 5)

Inside front and back covers: Ventura Rodríguez (1717–1785), *Section of Altamira Palace*. Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid (A-1350)

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DIRECTOR'S NOTE

Ever since its arrival at the Metropolitan as part of the outstanding collection of Old Master paintings bequeathed by New York financier and philanthropist Jules Bache, Goya's portrait of Don Manuel Osorio, the three- or four-year-old son of the conde de Altamira, has ranked as one of the Museum's most popular paintings. Small wonder that this adorable child, with his innocent, wide-eyed gaze, elegant red silk jumpsuit, and tethered pet magpie (which holds in its beak Goya's calling card) should have worked his way into the affections of so many visitors. What many do not realize is that a no less marvelous portrait of his mother, the condesa de Altamira, and his doll-like, infant sister forms part of the Robert Lehman Collection, given to the Metropolitan in 1975 and installed in a special wing of the Museum. Under normal circumstances, the countess and her daughter live downstairs, in galleries simulating Robert Lehman's apartment, while her captivating son plays upstairs in the unlikely company of a militaristic youth he never knew: José Costa y Bonells, nicknamed Pepito, the gift in 1961 of Mrs. Harrison Williams, Countess Bismarck, yet another example of the profound debt the Metropolitan Museum and its millions of visitors owe to the generosity of New York collectors. Pepito's bold stance and soldier's uniform, the hobbyhorse he proudly leads, and the drum and rifle with a bayonet that sit on the floor behind him are a far cry from little Don Manuel's expression of innocence and pet birds. Different games for different times, it seems, for Goya painted Pepito during the Spanish War of Independence (1808–14). As one prominent scholar has noted, he is "a child of the war years," whereas Don Manuel, painted in the 1780s, is a perfect embodiment of an aristocratic childhood under the ancien régime.

In celebration of the reinstallation of the Metropolitan's European Paintings galleries, inaugurated last May, the condesa de Altamira and her son have been temporarily reunited in a gallery devoted to Goya and his contemporaries

in Spain. But from the outset this move was planned as just the first stage of a more eventful family reunion that would also include Don Manuel's older brother, Vicente Osorio, and their father, Vicente Joaquín Osorio de Moscoso y Guzmán, conde de Altamira: all four pictures outstanding works by Goya. For the realization of this ambitious project the Museum is grateful for the generous collaboration of the Banco de España, which has lent Goya's portrait of the count, who was a director of the bank, and to the owners of the portrait of Vicente Osorio with his pet spaniel. To this remarkable series of portraits has been added yet another member of the Altamira family, painted by Agustín Esteve y Marques, an occasional collaborator of Goya's. It shows Juan María Osorio, who was three years younger than Vicente and four years older than Don Manuel but, sadly, had died before Goya was engaged to undertake the family portraits on view. This is the first time these portraits have been brought together, giving our visitors a unique opportunity to encounter the members of an important aristocratic family of Bourbon Spain as seen through the probing eyes and sharp intellect of its greatest painter.

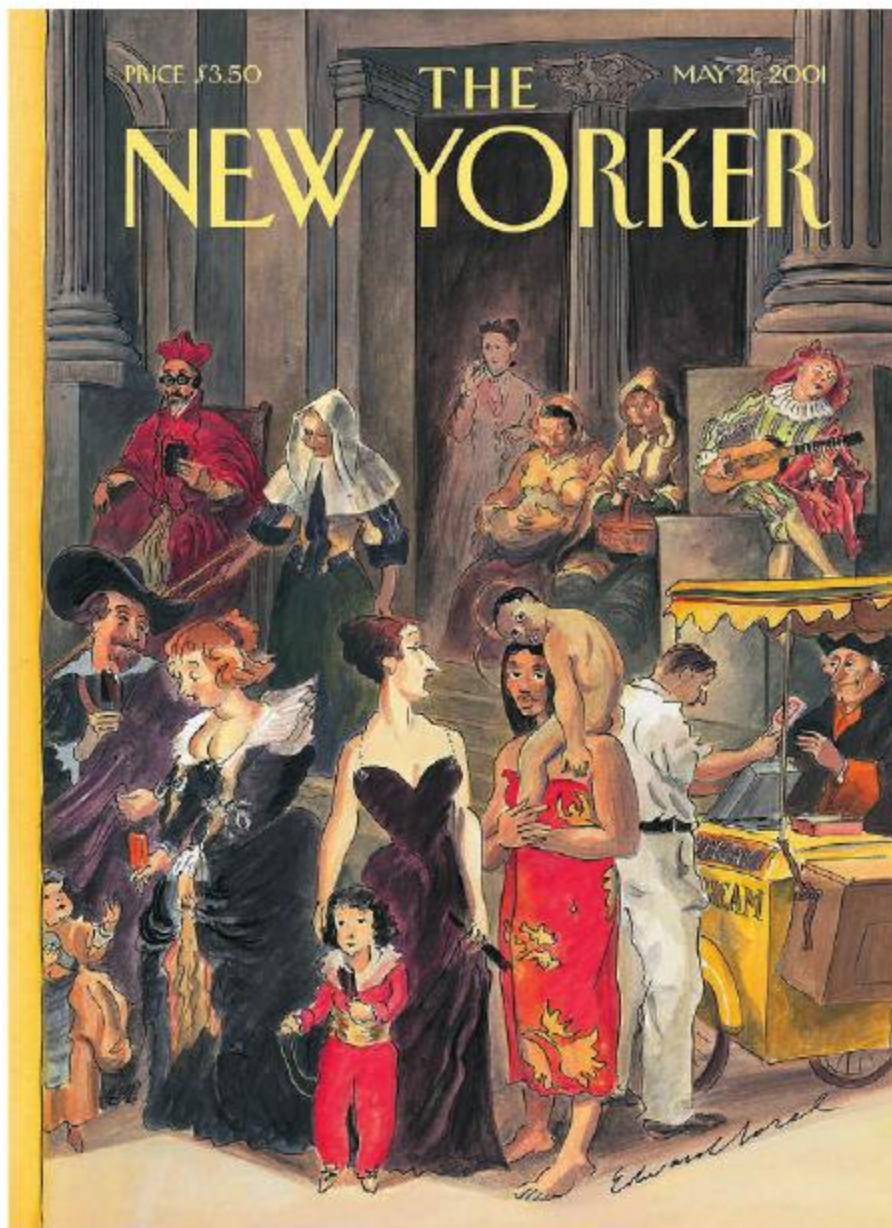
The organization of the exhibition "Goya and the Altamira Family" and the research and writing of this fascinating *Bulletin*, which outlines Goya's early career and involvement with portraiture, were undertaken by Xavier F. Salomon in his capacity as curator of Southern Baroque painting at the Metropolitan prior to assuming his new post, ten blocks south, as chief curator at the Frick Collection. We are especially grateful to Plácido Arango, longtime friend and trustee of the Metropolitan Museum, for generously funding the exhibition, and to The Peter Jay Sharp Foundation for its sustained commitment to the Metropolitan's scholarly publications.

THOMAS P. CAMPBELL
Director

THE COVER OF THE May 21, 2001, issue of *The New Yorker*, designed by Edward Sorel, is set outside The Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 1). The facade provides a familiar backdrop for a group of visitors shown milling about on the Museum's monumental front steps. But these are no ordinary tourists. Rather, the caricatures on the cover portray the human inhabitants of some of the Metropolitan Museum's most beloved works of art. Victorine Meurent, the model for Édouard Manet's *Young Lady in 1866*, walks out of the main doors behind the maiden from Johannes Vermeer's *Young Woman with a Water Pitcher*, who, having left her jug inside, descends the stairs toward Fifth Avenue. Two of the haggard ladies from Honoré Daumier's *Third-Class Carriage* have stepped out of their Parisian omnibus to sit on the steps, flanked by El Greco's Cardinal Fernando Niño de Guevara—who listens, somewhat perplexed, to his Walkman—and Watteau's Mezzetin dreamily playing his guitar. In the foreground a group of other masterpieces has sprung to life. Erasmus of Rotterdam, as portrayed by Hans Holbein the Younger, is purchasing ice cream, joining Rubens, together with his wife, Helena Fourment, and their son Frans, who are already enjoying theirs. The Polynesian Virgin and Child from Gauguin's *Ia Orana Maria*—not ice cream fans, it seems—are juxtaposed with another, wonderfully incongruous mother and child: Sargent's Madame Pierre Gautreau (better known as Madame X) accompanying the young Manuel Osorio Manrique de Zuñiga as he appears in Goya's portrait of him, a painting affectionately known since the early twentieth century as the "Red Boy" (fig. 2).

1 Edward Sorel (American, born 1929), "Monday at the Met," cover of *The New Yorker*, May 21, 2001

2 Goya (Francisco de Goya y Lucientes) (Spanish, Fuendetodos 1746–1828 Bordeaux). *Manuel Osorio Manrique de Zuñiga*, 1787–88. Oil on canvas, 50 × 40 in. (127 × 101.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Jules Bache Collection, 1949 (49.7.41)



Goya's boy, fittingly elevated to Sorel's cartoon pantheon, has been one of the most prominent and admired paintings in the Museum's collection since it was acquired in 1949. The portrait's renown dates back even earlier, however, to the 1920s, when it belonged to French playwright Henri Bernstein, who had owned it since at least 1903. In October 1924 Bernstein hung the painting over a settee as part of the *mise-en-scène* for his play *La Galerie des glaces* at the Théâtre du Gymnase, Paris (fig. 3). A year later, Bernstein sold the portrait to art dealer Joseph Duveen, and in 1926 *Manuel Osorio* finally reached America after being acquired from Duveen by the noted arts patron and philanthropist Jules Bache.

Bache's daughter, Kathryn ("Kitty") Bache Miller, was besotted with Goya's painting—believed to have been a gift to her from her father—and prominently displayed it in her New York apartment (fig. 4). Even after the portrait was bequeathed to the Museum, Mrs. Miller was allowed to keep it at her home for a certain period each year until her death, in 1979. Her interior decorator, Billy Baldwin, remembered that "to celebrate the hanging of the great



EL S. D. MANUEL OSORIO MANRÍQUEZ Y ZUÑIGA S. E. G. N. S. NACIO EN A. B. A. 11 DE 1782

picture in their drawing room, the Millers sent cards for cocktails, to meet ‘Don Manuel Osorio de Zúñiga.’” But, as Baldwin recalled, New York socialite Elsa Maxwell “couldn’t place Don Manuel,” so she called Margaret Case, the longtime society editor at *Vogue*, and inquired, “‘Who’s this Spaniard the Millers are introducing? I’ve never heard of him. Is he UN?’ Miss Case of *Vogue* replied, ‘You’ll know him when you see him. He always dresses in red, and he always has with him his two cats, a magpie, and a cage of finches.’”¹

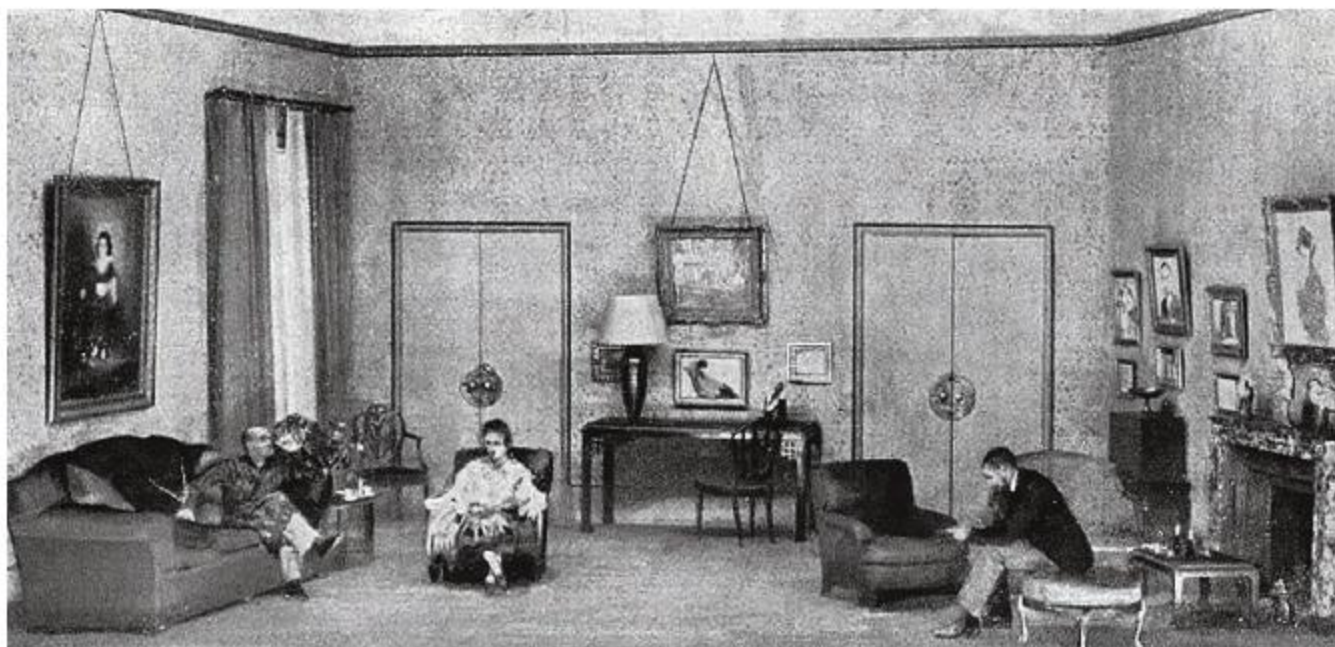
In his 1924 monograph on Goya, August L. Mayer commented that “of children’s portraits done in [the 1780s,] that of little Manuel Osorio de Zúñiga with his tame magpie and his cats is perhaps the best.”² Yet the fame of the Red Boy in the twentieth century has also transformed the canvas into an isolated masterpiece, obscuring the broader context of its creation. For example, the boy’s mother, the condesa de Altamira—a far cry from Sargent’s scandalizing Madame X—was also portrayed by Goya, and that canvas, which depicts the countess together with her daughter María Agustina, Manuel’s younger sister, is also on display in the Metropolitan Museum, as part of the Robert Lehman Collection (fig. 5). Although the two portraits live under the same roof, they have seldom been considered together and, moreover, have rarely been shown in the same space. Both are part of a group of four portraits by Goya of members of the aristocratic Altamira family that in 2014 are being reunited at the Metropolitan Museum for the first time since they were painted. The exhibition “Goya and the Altamira Family” also represents the first time that the Altamira canvases are discussed together in depth and examined in relation to Goya’s early career, particularly with regard to his role as a portraitist of the Spanish aristocracy. Indeed, it is only by considering these pictures as a group and within the larger context of Goya’s production in these formative years that the Altamira portraits can be fully understood.

On August 1, 1786, the forty-year-old Goya wrote to his friend and correspondent Martín Zapater and offered this justifiably confident appraisal of his career to date as a portraitist: “I have established myself in an enviable way of life. . . . I have made myself most sought after, and if it were not a person of very high rank or

3 Set for Act 1 of *La Galerie des glaces* by Henri Bernstein, Paris, 1924

4 Kathryn Bache Miller and Gilbert Miller’s apartment, New York

5 Goya. *María Ignacia Álvarez de Toledo, Condesa de Altamira, and Her Daughter María Agustina*, 1787–88. Oil on canvas, 76¾ × 45¼ in. (195 × 115 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.148)





ma a a
LA EX. S. D. MARIA YGNACIA AZORZ D' TOLEDO MARQUESA D' ASTORGA CONDESA D' ALAMIRA
Y LA S. D. MARIA AGUSTINA OSORIO AZORZ D' TOLEDO SV HIA. NACIO EN 21 D' FEBRERO D' 1787. ~~~

recommended by some friend, I did not do anything for anybody. For this very reason that I have made myself so invaluable, they haven't (and still won't) leave me alone, so that I don't know how I'm to do it all."³ To achieve such success in Spanish society, Goya had come a long way.

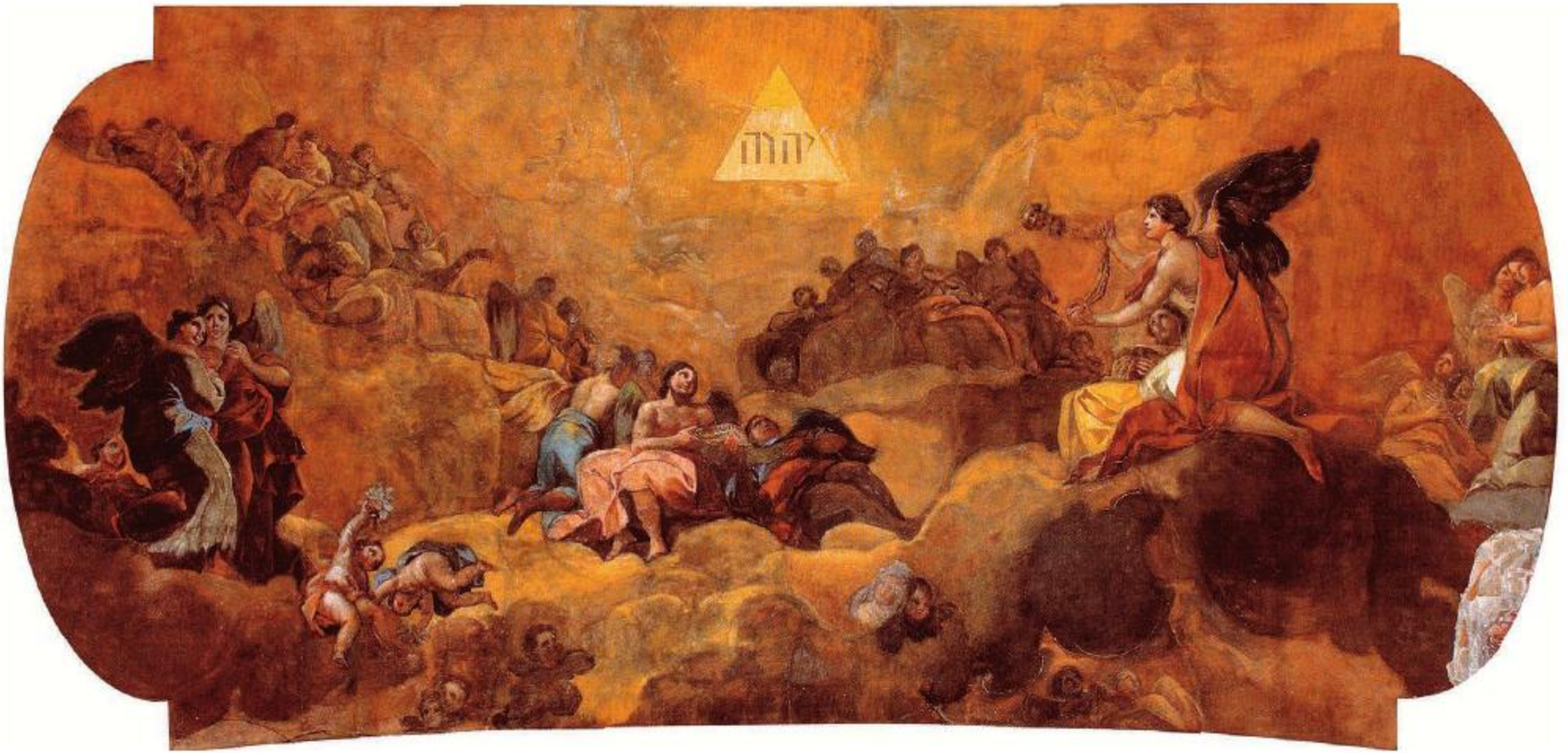
Francisco de Goya y Lucientes was born in the small village of Fuendetodos on March 30, 1746. His family was from the city of Saragossa, the capital of Aragon, where Francisco's father, José, made a living as a gilder. Among the buildings José worked on was the basilica of Nuestra Señora del Pilar (Our Lady of the Pillar), the largest and most prestigious project in the city at that time (fig. 6). The church was built along the banks of the river Ebro on the site where, according to tradition, on January 2, AD 40, the Virgin Mary appeared to Saint James, gave him a wooden statue of herself on a jasper pillar, and asked him to build her a church. Various expansions of the building culminated in a refashioning campaign carried out in the mid-eighteenth century by royal architect Ventura Rodríguez (see fig. 39). Between 1754 and 1763, when Goya was a child in the city, Rodríguez built and decorated the chapel that houses the Virgin of the Pillar: the heart of the basilica and one of the most sacred spaces in Spain. José Goya is likely to have worked for Rodríguez in the basilica.

The young Francisco studied for four years with José Luxán y Martínez, a provincial artist in Saragossa, who must have instructed him in the basic skills of painting. Goya then came into contact with the brothers Francisco (see fig. 14) and Ramón Bayeu y Subías, both painters from Saragossa. The Bayeu brothers would prove to be major influences on Goya, not only in terms of his early career (Goya's first commissions may have been facilitated by his links to them) but in his personal life as well; he married their sister Josefa on July 25, 1773.

In the early 1770s Goya, like many young Spanish artists, traveled to Italy to study the great works of antiquity. Upon his return he became involved with three important projects in Saragossa. Asked to decorate the ceiling of the *coreto*, the small choir across from the chapel of the Virgin of the Pillar, Goya painted the *Adoration of the Name of God*, a still juvenile work whose uncomfortable figures fill a lackluster, conventional composition (fig. 7). About the same time, he completed a group of religious canvases for the chapel of the

6 Basilica of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, Saragossa





palace of the conde de Sobradiel and, between April and December 1774, a series of frescoes of the life of the Virgin for the Carthusian monastery of Aula Dei, just outside Saragossa. The frescoes, executed along the church's nave, were Goya's first monumental work and the most important he left in Saragossa. Unfortunately, the frescoes were badly damaged and then later heavily restored and repainted in 1901 by the brothers Amadeus and Paul Buffet; today it is possible to get only the vaguest sense of Goya's original, vigorously constructed figures.

By the spring of 1775 Goya had followed the Bayeu brothers to Madrid, a city then being transformed under the enlightened rule of King Charles III (r. 1759–88). In addition to Ventura Rodríguez, Charles commissioned architects such as Francesco Sabatini and Juan de Villanueva to drastically refashion the Spanish capital with modern buildings, reflecting the spirit of the Enlightenment. These included the main royal residence of the Palacio Real, which had been begun under Charles's father, Philip V (r. 1700–46), after designs by the architect Filippo Juvarra, and continued by Philip's son and Charles's older half brother, Ferdinand VI (r. 1746–59), and his architect Giovanni Battista Sacchetti. Charles commissioned Sabatini to complete the building and oversaw the decoration of much of its interior. For the king Sabatini also built the Hospital de San Carlos (the present-day Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia), and Villanueva designed the building for the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (1773), the Real Jardín Botánico (1775), and a royal museum of natural history, begun in 1785 and now the Museo Nacional del Prado.

With the ascent of Philip V and the founding of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain, a tradition had been established of importing foreign artists as court painters. Accordingly, most of the large, decorative royal projects in eighteenth-century Madrid were

7 Goya. *Adoration of the Name of God*, 1772. Fresco, Basilica of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, Saragossa

executed by foreign—that is, French and Italian—painters. Under Philip V, the French Michel-Ange Houasse, Jean Ranc, and Louis Michel van Loo as well as the Italian Andrea Procaccini were the most prominent artists at court. They introduced to Spain a particularly French flavor reflecting the tastes of Louis XIV and Louis XV of France, the king's grandfather and nephew, respectively. The style is epitomized in Van Loo's monumental canvas of 1743, a portrait of the royal family—all dressed in opulent clothes, following French fashion—set against a grandiose and utterly imaginary architectural background (fig. 8). Philip V and his second wife, Elisabetta Farnese, sit at center, proximate to the crown jewels. Standing at left are the eldest son and heir, the future Ferdinand VI, with his wife, Barbara of Braganza; to the right are the future Charles III (then the king of Naples) and his wife, Maria Amalia of Saxony.

In contrast to Philip, Ferdinand and Charles invited mostly Italian artists to the court of Madrid, perhaps a nod to the tastes of the Queen Mother, whose family had ruled the Duchy of Parma for centuries. Ferdinand's principal artists, Jacopo Amigoni and Corrado Giaquinto, initiated an enchanting Rococo style in Spanish painting that was to influence (especially in the case of Giaquinto) the young Goya. Upon Charles's

8 Louis Michel van Loo
(French, Toulon 1707–1771
Paris). *The Family of Philip V*,
1743. Oil on canvas, 160 $\frac{5}{8}$ ×
204 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (408 × 520 cm). Museo
Nacional del Prado, Madrid
(P02283)





9 Anton Raphael Mengs
(German, Aussig [Ústí nad
Labem] 1728–1779 Rome).
Marquesa de Llano, 1770. Oil on
canvas, 98 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 58 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (250 ×
148 cm). Museo de la Real
Academia de Bellas Artes de San
Fernando, Madrid (0705)

accession to the throne Giaquinto was replaced by the Italian Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, who was in Madrid from 1761 until his death, nine years later, and the German-born Anton Raphael Mengs, a resident of Spain between 1761 and 1769 and again from 1774 to 1776. The king commissioned both artists to fresco ceilings in the new Palacio Real, following in the footsteps of Giaquinto, who had already executed a series of frescoes in the building. Mengs, in particular, became well known for his portraits of the royal family and of the Spanish aristocracy and assumed the role of the key portraitist at court in the 1760s and 1770s. His full-length portrait of Isabel Parreño y Arce, marquesa de Llano, from 1770, is among the period's most celebrated images of the Spanish elite (fig. 9). Placed against the Neoclassical backdrop provided by a temple, a herm, and a vase in an open landscape, the marquesa is dressed in a combination of French and Spanish fashions (probably meant to be seen as a fancy dress outfit) and holds a mask in her hand. The large parrot next to her testifies to the contemporary vogue for exotic animals at court.

Mengs's court portraits, with their polished elegance and enamel-like surfaces, mirrored the refined character of the early years of Charles III's reign. As the ruler of Naples, Charles had overseen the excavation of the ancient cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum and

ordered the transfer of the celebrated Farnese collection of classical antiquities from Rome to Naples. His interest in antiquity and in the Neoclassical style was exemplified by the art of Mengs, whose ideals, in turn, were profoundly attuned with those of his friend Johann Joachim Winckelmann, the champion of Neoclassical taste.

As court painter Mengs oversaw the production of tapestries for the royal court, which were manufactured in Madrid by the Real Fábrica de Tapices de Santa Bárbara, established by Philip V in 1720 on the model of the French Manufacture des Gobelins. Mengs called to the Fábrica four artists: Andrés de Ginés Aguirre, Antonio Giuseppe Barbazza, Mariano Nani, and Goya. And while a number of painters were involved in designing tapestries, including Francisco Bayeu, Goya's brother-in-law, Goya's contribution was paramount. Between 1775 and 1792 the artist was at the forefront of designing tapestries for the royal residences, especially for the apartments of the heirs to the throne—the prince of Asturias (later Charles IV) and his wife, María Luisa of Parma—in the palace of El Pardo.⁴ For each tapestry he provided a full-size cartoon on which the weavers were to base the final result. Not considered works of art per se, the cartoons, executed in oil on canvas, were usually either disposed of or stored in the



10 Goya. *The Fair of Madrid*, 1778. Oil on canvas, 101 5/8 × 85 7/8 in. (258 × 218 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (P00779)

11 Goya. *The Crockery Vendor*, 1778. Oil on canvas, 102 × 86 3/8 in. (259 × 220 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (P00780)

12 Detail of fig. 10



event additional tapestries were needed. Most of Goya's cartoons—he produced almost sixty designs—were discovered in the basement of the Palacio Real in Madrid in 1870 and are now at the Museo del Prado. The earliest, made in the late 1770s, are scenes of hunting and country life, but Goya quickly moved toward other subject matter. He crowed of his success in an enthusiastic letter to Zapater on January 9, 1779: "If I were more calm, I would tell you how the King, the Prince and the Princess honored me, for by God's grace I was allowed to show them four paintings and I kissed their hands; I've not yet had such luck ever and I tell you I couldn't ask for more insofar as their liking my work goes, given the pleasure they had in seeing the paintings and the approval I won from the King and even more from Their Highnesses."⁵

The four tapestry cartoons Goya showed to the royal family were likely designs for the bedroom of the prince of Asturias at El Pardo. One of them is set during the annual Fair of Madrid, held in the Plaza de la Cebada (fig. 10). A group of aristocrats, including a couple dressed in the latest French fashion, stops by one of the stalls, whose owner kneels subserviently and offers them his wares: metal pots and pans, furniture, clothes, and paintings (fig. 12). The canvas at top left recalls portraits from the time of Velázquez, certainly no coincidence given that it was during the late 1770s that Goya was studying Velázquez's work in the royal collection and copying some of his masterpieces in etching. The companion piece to *The Fair of Madrid*, *The Crockery Vendor* (fig. 11), focuses on another market scene. A lady in her carriage passes through the



streets, presumably in the countryside, while a group of women sells crockery on the ground. In both works Goya united high and low subjects in a manner that would have delighted his royal and aristocratic audience.

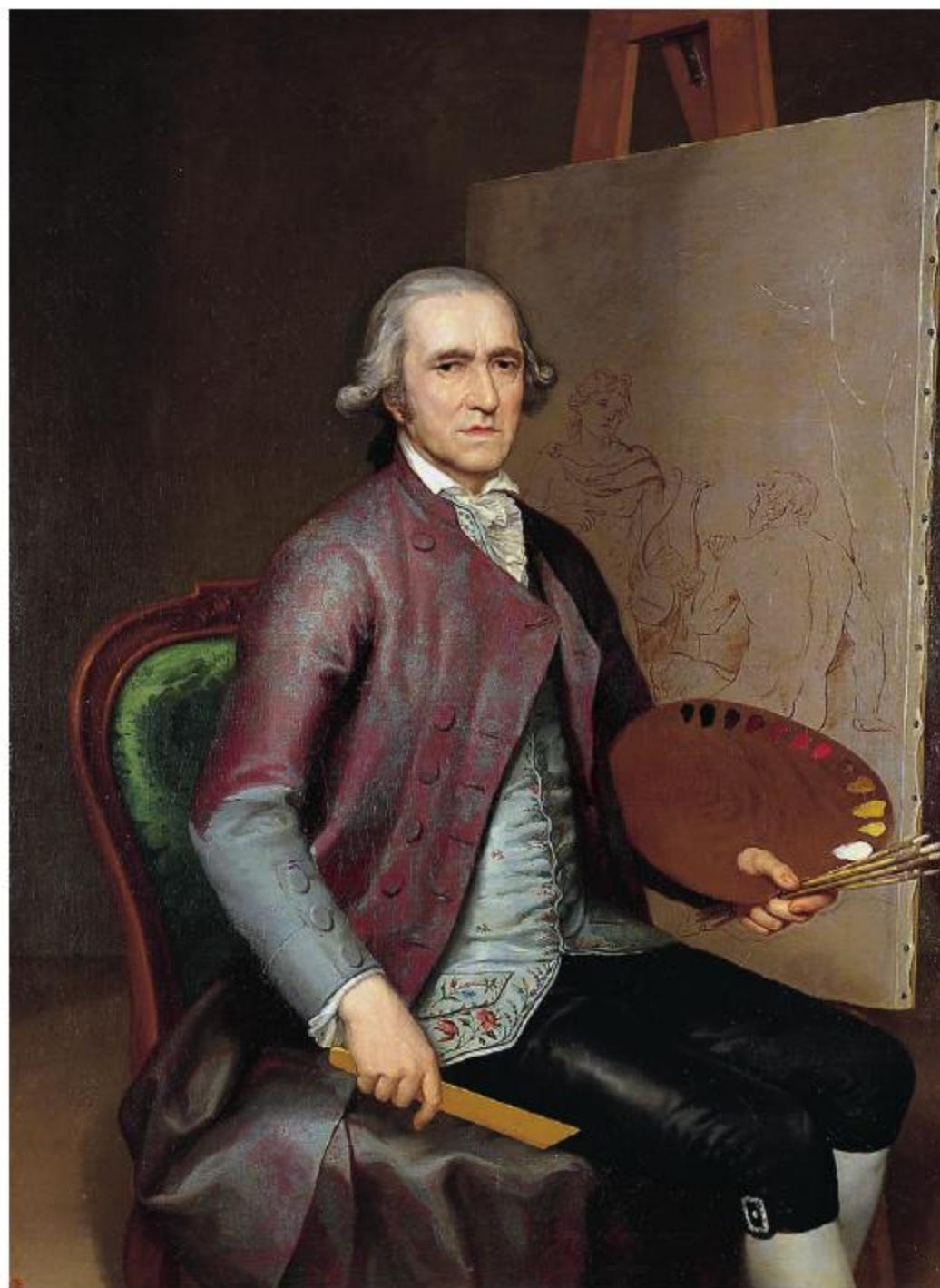
The success of Goya's tapestry designs must have given him the confidence to apply for the post of court painter following Mengs's death in Rome in July 1779, but on October 8, 1779, his request was turned down. Undaunted, throughout the early 1780s Goya worked to establish himself in Madrid, and in 1780 he was elected *académico de mérito*, one of the lower posts at the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. War broke out between Spain and England that year, however, interrupting the production of tapestries at the Fábrica. Now a more established painter, Goya returned to his native Saragossa to work once again on the decoration of the basilica of El Pilar. He was commissioned to fresco one of the domes of the church with a depiction of Mary, Queen of Martyrs, and four pendentives of Faith, Patience, Fortitude, and Charity (fig. 13). The decoration of the dome precipitated a major dispute between Goya and the committee that had commissioned the work, which apparently was unsatisfied with the result. It also frayed Goya's relationship with Francisco Bayeu (fig. 14), who sided with the committee; the brothers-in-law reconciled only later in life.



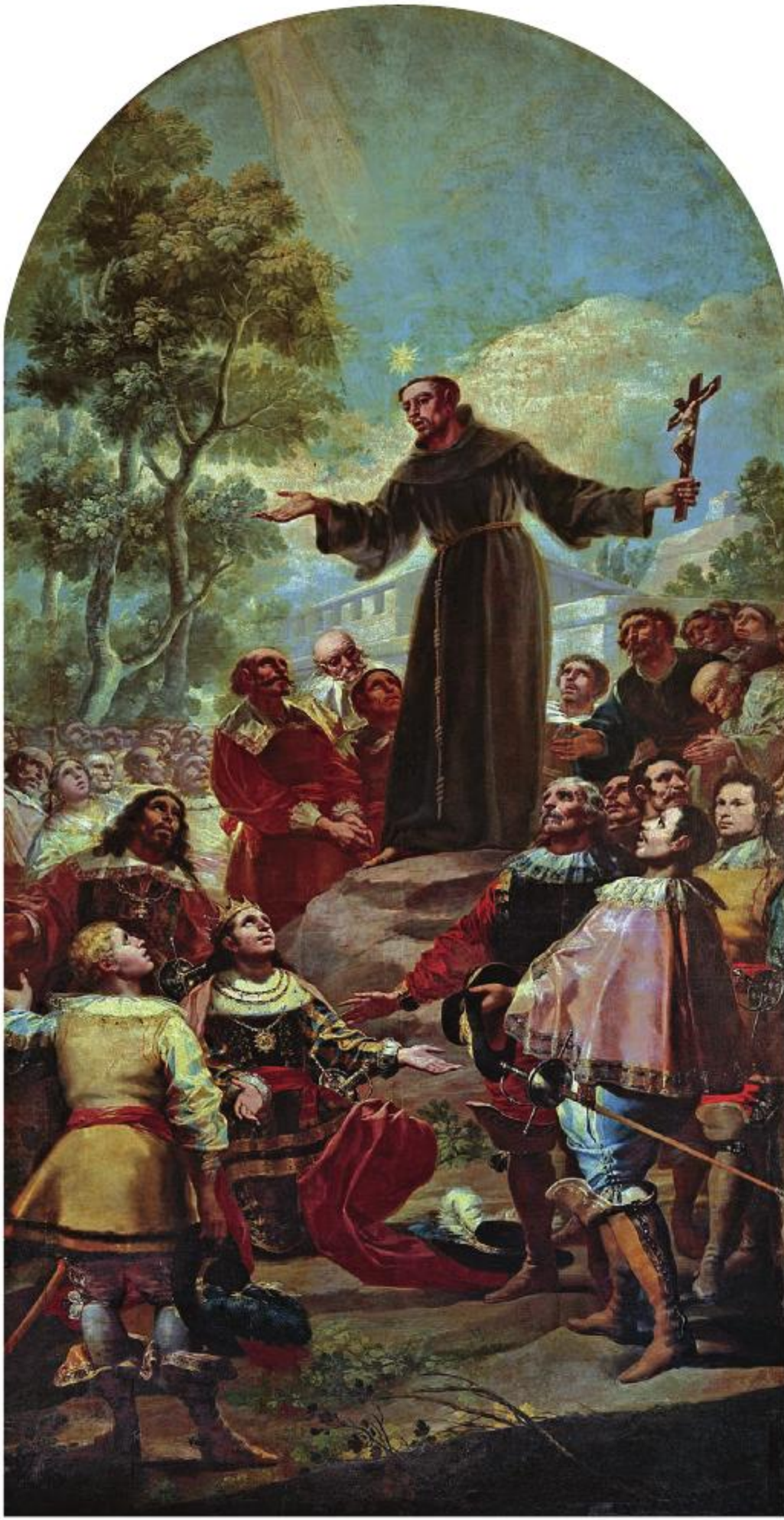
13 Goya. *Mary, Queen of Martyrs*, 1780. Fresco, Basilica of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, Saragossa

The same weaknesses the committee perceived in Goya's frescoes for the dome in Saragossa were apparent in some of his early works made in Madrid, specifically, their lack of strength and quality compared with the frescoes by Giaquinto, Tiepolo, and Mengs to which the Spanish court was accustomed. This was indeed the case with Goya's first public altarpiece, painted for the church of San Francisco el Grande after his return to Madrid from Saragossa in July 1781. A royal basilica in Madrid's La Latina neighborhood, San Francisco el Grande had been completed in the early 1780s by Sabatini. The church, with its recognizably large dome, appears in the background of Goya's tapestry cartoon of *The Fair of Madrid* (fig. 12). As it was being completed, the king commissioned seven altarpieces for the church, entrusted to Mariano Maella, Gregorio Ferro, Andrés de la Calleja, José del Castillo, Antonio González Velázquez, Francisco Bayeu, and Goya. The monumental paintings were a particularly prominent commission for one of the most visible royal projects in the city in the early 1780s. In Goya's altarpiece, *Saint Bernardino of Siena Preaching Before King Alfonso V of Aragon* (fig. 15), the saint, shown standing on a rocky outcrop, towers over the crowds as he preaches to the aristocracy and to the populace in the background. The king, on the left, kneels and looks up at the saint, above whose forehead a star has appeared. Historically, Bernardino had preached before René of Anjou, king of Sicily, but Goya replaced him with Alfonso of Aragon, king of Naples, feeling it more appropriate to depict a Spanish monarch than a French one. As a young artist with abundant ambition, Goya included a self-portrait in the altarpiece: the man dressed in yellow standing at the painting's right edge, who looks out of the composition and engages directly with the public. None of the altarpieces was judged a great success. In 1785 Goya, Castillo, and Ferro, still awaiting payment, petitioned the conde de Floridablanca, who had managed the commissions, for their reward. "Pay each [of them] another 4,000 *reales*," replied the count, who then scathingly annotated the petition that "although the paintings were no great masterpieces, at least those by these artists were not the worst."⁶

José Moñino, conde de Floridablanca (1728–1808), had been Charles III's prime minister since 1777. The king surrounded himself with ministers open to his enlightened ideals, and Floridablanca was no exception. Committed to gathering Spain's political power around the monarchy (and against the Church), the count was



14 Francisco Bayeu y Subías (Spanish, Saragossa 1734–1795 Madrid). *Self-Portrait*, 1792–95. Oil on canvas, 52 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 38 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (133 × 98 cm). Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid (1425)



15 Goya. *Saint Bernardino of Siena Preaching Before King Alfonso V of Aragon*, 1781–83. Oil on canvas, 189 × 118 1/8 in. (480 × 300 cm). San Francisco el Grande, Madrid

instrumental in the expulsion of the Jesuit order from Spain in 1767. By January 1783 Floridablanca had commissioned a full-length portrait from Goya (fig. 16), who no doubt gained access to the powerful count through the project for the basilica. At the time Goya painted his portrait, Floridablanca was promoting construction of the Canal Imperial de Aragón, intended to cross Spain and provide water to agriculturally poor regions. Floridablanca was also one of the protectors of the Academia de San Fernando, and in that capacity, too, he would have known the artist.

Goya was more successful with Floridablanca's portrait—his first major experiment in the genre—than with his altarpiece for San Francisco el Grande. He portrayed the count standing and full length, presumably in his office. Behind him, in an oval frame, is a portrait of the king, and between them another man emerges from the shadows. The identity of the latter has never been fully determined; he may be the architect Sabatini or possibly the military engineer Julián Sánchez Bort, who was involved with the project for the canal. A large sheet showing the plans of the canal is at the bottom right of the portrait, next to a volume of Antonio Palomino's *Práctica de la pintura* on the floor. Among these references to the count's most important civil project for Spain, Goya again included a self-portrait. The man to the left approaching the count and presenting him with a stretched canvas is Goya, who with this grand painting was clearly promoting himself as a portraitist of the Spanish ruling class. The relationship in the painting between Floridablanca and Goya cannot

fail to remind the viewer of the tapestry cartoon for *The Fair of Madrid* (fig. 10). Although Goya is not quite the subservient seller of goods at the fair, kneeling before the elegant aristocrat, his presence in the portrait leaves no illusion as to his wish to serve the prime minister and the court. "I always get a lot of attention from the minister of state," Goya wrote elatedly to Zapater on July 9, 1783, referring to Floridablanca, "and sometimes [I] spend two hours in his company and he tells me that he will do whatever he can for me."⁷

It was probably through Floridablanca that Goya was introduced to the man who would become one of the most important patrons of his early career in Madrid and also the person likely responsible for introducing him to the Altamira family: the Infante Don Luis de Borbón (1727–1785), Charles III's youngest brother (fig. 17). The favorite child of the Queen Mother, Don Luis had been destined since youth for an ecclesiastical career. His interest in women was no secret at court, however, and it became obvious early on that the infante was ill-suited for life within the Catholic Church. Having given up his cardinal's hat and his title of cardinal-archbishop of Seville, Don Luis became an important patron of the arts and sciences and surrounded himself in his apartments in the Palacio Real and in his residence of Boadilla del Monte with works of art, specimens of natural history, and musicians.

In 1775 the court was shocked to learn that the painter Luis Paret y Alcázar had been procuring women for the infante. Scandalized, the king exiled Paret to Puerto Rico and forced his brother into a morganatic marriage with a woman of the lesser nobility, María Teresa de Vallabriga (1759–1820) (fig. 18). Don Luis moved away from the court and retired with his wife to Cadalso de los Vidrios. Subsequently the couple was hosted by the Altamira family in their palace at Velada, not far from Toledo (see fig. 34), which the infante later leased from the count. In 1779 construction began on a new palace for the infante at Arenas de San Pedro, near Ávila, by Ventura Rodríguez, and there Don Luis eventually established his own court in the early 1780s (see fig. 35). Floridablanca may have introduced Goya to the infante, but the artist could also have met him through his sister-in-law, María Bayeu, who in March 1783 married Marcos del Campo, a member of Don Luis's household in Arenas de San Pedro. Regardless of how the introduction was made, over two summers (1783–84) Goya visited Don Luis at Arenas, where he hunted with him and painted a series of portraits of the infante and his family. In a letter to Zapater dated September 20, 1783, Goya reported that he had “just arrived from Arenas and [am] very tired. His Highness overwhelmed me with a thousand honors. I have made the picture of him, his lady and son and daughter to unexpected applause, as other painters have gone before and have not succeeded in it. . . . I have stayed a month with them and they are angels, they have given me a present of a thousand *duros* and a gown for my wife all of silver and gold.”⁸

Goya painted numerous portraits for Don Luis, the majority of them individual images of him and his wife.⁹ Of course sitting for portraits was not new to the infante,



16 Goya. *Conde de Floridablanca*, 1783. Oil on canvas, 103 1/8 × 65 3/8 in. (262 × 166 cm). Banco de España, Madrid



17 Mengs. *Infante Luis de Borbón*, 1776. Oil on canvas, 60½ × 39¾ in. (152.7 × 100 cm). Cleveland Museum of Art; Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Fund (1966.14)



18 Goya. *María Teresa de Vallabriga*, 1783. Oil on canvas, 59½ × 38½ in. (151.2 × 97.8 cm). Neue Pinakothek, Munich (HUW 2)

who since childhood had been painted by many notable court artists, among them Ranc, Van Loo, and Mengs (he appears to the left of his mother in the large family portrait by Van Loo of 1743 [fig. 8]). More recently, shortly after the 1775 scandal broke, Don Luis had posed for Mengs (fig. 17), a portrait whose polished elegance typifies the German painter's work for the Spanish court. Probably one of Goya's first commissions for Don Luis, in fact, was to produce a pendant for it: his portrait of María Teresa de Vallabriga (fig. 18), painted in the summer of 1783, in which the young Goya was clearly under the sway of Mengs's fastidious style. But when it came time to portray two of the three children of the infante—Goya's first attempts to depict children—the artist stepped away from some of the established conventions of the genre, to charming effect. Both the six-year-old Luis María de Borbón y Vallabriga (1777–1823) and his sister María Teresa de Borbón y Vallabriga (1779–1828), then four years old, were portrayed by Goya at Arenas in 1783. They are dressed as adults, in costly outfits appropriate for court. Luis María (fig. 19) stands rigidly in his blue silk clothes

and is surrounded by material for his education, in particular studies of geography. Maps of Spain are scattered across the table along with a puzzle map, a second example of which leans against the chair at right. At the end of the eighteenth century, puzzle maps were popular tools for the education of young boys, who would learn world geography by inserting the pieces, each shaped according to the political borders of a country or province, into the map. The piece Luis María holds in his hand possibly represents the County of Chinchón, which belonged to his father. María Teresa, in contrast, is depicted outdoors, standing on one of the terraces in the gardens of the palace (fig. 20). In the background are the Sierra de Gredos, the mountains that provide the dramatic backdrop to the town of Arenas. A translucent mantilla covers the young infanta's head, and she is accompanied by a small Maltese dog, one of the many



19 Goya. *Luis María de Borbón y Vallabriga*, 1783. Oil on canvas, 52¾ × 45¼ in. (134 × 115 cm). Museo de Zaragoza



20 Goya. *María Teresa de Borbón y Vallabriga*, 1783. Oil on canvas, 53 × 46¼ in. (134.5 × 117.5 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Ailsa Mellon Bruce Collection (1970.17.123)

pets that Goya portrayed together with his sitters. Both Luis María and María Teresa were later portrayed by Goya as adults, the boy as cardinal-archbishop of Toledo, and the girl, in one of Goya's masterpieces, as the condesa de Chinchón (both Museo del Prado, Madrid).

While in Arenas, Goya executed his most important canvas for Don Luis: the extraordinary, monumental nighttime painting of the infante's family (fig. 21). The scene unfolds around a table in the palace of Arenas, lit by a lonesome candle. While María Teresa de Vallabriga is under the careful hands of a hairdresser, Don Luis plays solitaire. Courtiers and servants crowd around them along with the infante's three children. In the left corner, following on Floridablanca's portrait, Goya portrayed himself at work on a large canvas, the painter's response to Velázquez's iconic *Las Meninas* (1656, Museo del Prado, Madrid) and to the tradition, begun by the seventeenth-century

master, of painters representing themselves at work within the context of a courtly portrait. *The Family of the Infante Don Luis*, Goya's first large family portrait, benefited from careful studies Goya had made of the members of the court at Arenas and was painted only after his series of individual images of the family. A watershed in Goya's career, the portrait is easily the most accomplished of his early works in the genre.



21 Goya. *The Family of the Infante Don Luis*, 1783. Oil on canvas, 97⁵/₈ × 129¹/₈ in. (248 × 328 cm). Fondazione Magnani Rocca, Mamiano di Traversetolo, Parma (197)

THE SECOND HALF of the 1780s finally saw Goya achieve the kind of success he had hoped for earlier in the decade and in the 1770s. About the time he started to work for Don Luis and began to focus on aristocratic portraiture, he returned to the Real Fábrica de Tapices and produced more tapestry cartoons. In July 1786 he was finally nominated painter to the king, and on April 25, 1789, following the death of Charles III the previous December and the ascent to the throne of Charles IV (r. 1788–1808), he was at last made court painter.

Goya produced his first full-length portrait of Charles III in about 1786 (fig. 23). Like his brother, Don Luis, Charles was especially fond of hunting, and Goya dutifully portrayed him dressed in his hunting gear and holding a rifle, with a hunting dog resting at his feet. Unlike Goya's portrait of the conde de Floridablanca, however, the painting of Charles III, set amid a bleached landscape, is devoid of the courtly trappings one would expect for a member of the royal family. Only the small gold *toisón de oro* (Order of the Golden Fleece), the most important insignia of the Spanish crown, is visible, attached with a red ribbon to the king's chest. Another of Goya's aristocratic portraits from 1786 represents María Ana de Pontejos y Sandoval, marquesa de Pontejos (1762–1834) (fig. 24), who that year had married Francisco Moñino, brother of the conde de Floridablanca. She is dressed in the latest French fashion—a pastoral outfit, covered in roses, made popular in France by Marie Antoinette—and holds a carnation in her right hand. Like Charles III she is set against a landscape and is accompanied by

a dog, a small pug, whose collar is decorated with bells (fig. 22).

The French refinement of the marquesa's portrait also pervades the tapestry cartoons painted by Goya about 1786–87. For one of the sitting rooms of the king's apartments at El Pardo, the Sala de Conversación, Goya envisaged four tapestries depicting the seasons of the year. In *Spring—The Flowergirls* (fig. 25), an aristocratic mother and daughter (not dissimilar in type from the marquesa de Pontejos and María Teresa de Borbón y Vallabriga) pause in the countryside, presumably on the grounds of one of their properties, to accept flowers offered by a young woman. A peasant holding a small rabbit is about to surprise the pair from behind. The scene in *Autumn—The Vintage* (fig. 26) takes place during the wine harvest. As peasants in the background gather fruit off the vines, an aristocratic couple is approached by a girl carrying a basket overflowing with grapes. In these tapestry cartoons and in Goya's portraits from the 1780s, most of the aristocracy is shown wearing

22 Detail of fig. 24

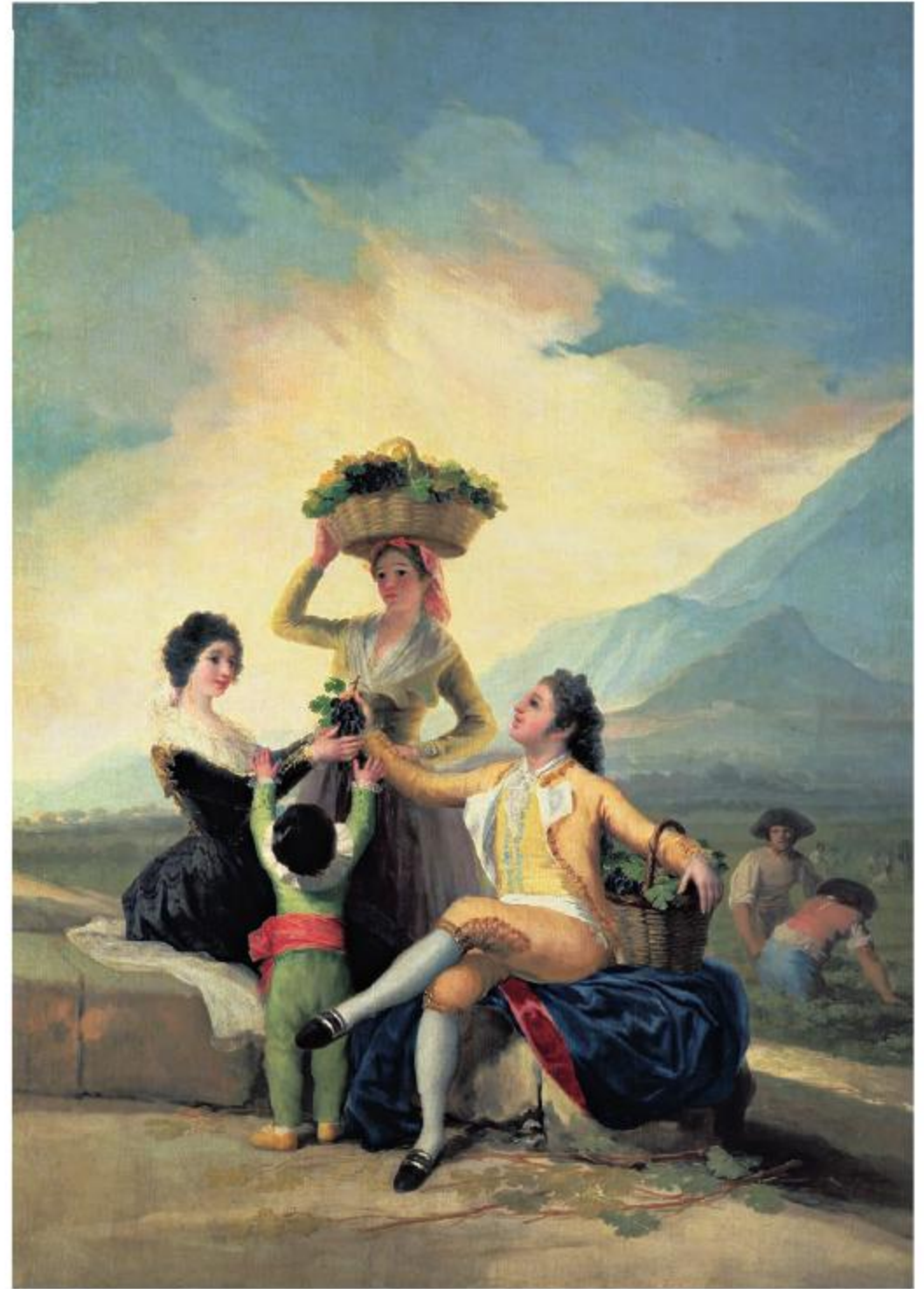




23 Goya. *Charles III in Hunting Costume*, 1786–88. Oil on canvas, 81½ × 49⅝ in. (207 × 126 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (P00737)



24 Goya. *María Ana de Pontejos y Sandoval, Marquesa de Pontejos*, 1786. Oil on canvas, 82⅞ × 50 in. (210.3 × 127 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.; Andrew W. Mellon Collection (1937.1.85)



French fashion, known as the *afrancesado* style, which was soon adopted by both the Spanish upper class and the bourgeoisie. Men wearing wigs and clothes in this style became known in Spain as *petimetres* (from the French *petit-maitre*, meaning fop or dandy). But toward the end of the 1780s and in the 1790s the aristocracy abandoned French fashion for the traditional costumes of the *majo* and *maja*, figures from the lower classes of Spanish society. The striking juxtaposition of these styles is particularly noticeable in a small sketch for one of the tapestry cartoons, *The Meadow of Saint Isidro* (fig. 27). The Feast of Saint Isidro, patron saint of Madrid, took place every year on May 15 near the church dedicated to him. Citizens of Madrid of all classes visited the church on the feast day to drink at the miraculous spring that was housed there. In Goya's sketch, the river Manzanares bisects the composition horizontally. On one side is a view of Madrid, with the Palacio Real at left and San Francisco el Grande at right. Among the crowd gathered along the meadows of the church, it is possible to identify figures wearing both French and Spanish costumes. Most of the aristocrats in the foreground are *petimetres*, but farther down in the valley a few *majos* and *majas* can be seen. At the time the population of Madrid was relatively small—only about 150,000

25 Goya. *Spring—The Flower-girls*, 1786–87. Oil on canvas, 109 × 75⁵/₈ in. (277 × 192 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (P00793)

26 Goya. *Autumn—The Vintage*, 1786–87. Oil on canvas, 105³/₈ × 75 in. (267.5 × 190.5 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (P00795)

inhabitants—and it was said that all members of aristocratic families were related and called each other “cousin.” It is worth keeping this in mind, because Goya’s commission to paint portraits for the Altamira family was no doubt based on his previous work as a designer of tapestry cartoons for the king, but also on his experience as a portraitist to the close-knit world of the Spanish nobility.

From the early to mid-1780s Goya moved mostly in the circles of the Infante Don Luis and the conde de Floridablanca. On June 2, 1782, under Floridablanca’s ministry, the Banco Nacional de San Carlos was created in Madrid (its name was changed after 1829 to the Banco de España, which still exists as Spain’s main state banking institution). One of Goya’s friends, the art historian and writer Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, worked in its secretariat as *primer oficial de la secretería*, and it was through him that Goya became involved with the bank.¹⁰ The artist not only invested money in the bank, he also became one of its shareholders and between 1785 and 1788 painted six portraits for the institution, including five of its directors. On April 13, 1785, Goya was paid 2,328 *reales* through Ceán Bermúdez for a half-length portrait of José del Toro y Zambrano (fig. 28), and almost two years later, on January 29, 1787, the bank paid him 10,000 *reales* for three additional portraits: one of the marqués de Tolosa (fig. 29) and one full-length each of Charles III (fig. 32) and the conde de Altamira (fig. 31). Two more payments followed for two more portraits: 2,200 *reales* on October 29, 1787, for the portrait of Francisco Javier de Larrumbe (fig. 30) and 4,500 *reales* on April 21, 1788, for a full-length portrait of one of the founders of the bank and its first director, François Cabarrus, a Frenchman naturalized in Spain as Francisco de Cabarrús (fig. 33). Three of the six—the portraits of Del Toro y Zambrano,

27 Goya. *The Meadow of Saint Isidro*, 1788. Oil on canvas, 16½ × 35¾ in. (41.9 × 90.8 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (P00750)





28 Goya. *José del Toro y Zambrano*, 1785. Oil on canvas, $44\frac{1}{2} \times 26\frac{3}{4}$ in. (113 × 68 cm). Banco de España, Madrid

29 Goya. *Marqués de Tolosa*, 1787. Oil on canvas, $44\frac{1}{8} \times 30\frac{3}{4}$ in. (112 × 78 cm). Banco de España, Madrid

the marqués de Tolosa, and Javier de Larrumbe—are nearly identical in format and dimensions, with the sitters shown half-length and behind stone parapets in a slightly prosaic arrangement. Goya focused mainly on the sitters' faces, exhibiting an extraordinary capacity to capture the psychological qualities of his subjects. The portrait of the king is by far the weakest of the group. Probably based on other images of the monarch, it is a rather hard but typical image of a sovereign destined for a public institution intent on boasting of its regal patronage.

The full-length portraits of Altamira and Cabarrús are the best of the series. The count is shown seated at his desk. The yellow upholstery of his chair, which matches the color of the tablecloth, creates a vibrant contrast to the black and red of his outfit. The count poses with one hand inserted in his waistcoat and the other resting on the table alongside work papers and a writing tray with silver inkstands. As opposed to the more powerful, standing images of Cabarrús and Charles III, Altamira's portrait betrays a certain unease in the sitter, likely related to his famously diminutive stature. The English politician Henry Richard Vassall Fox, 3rd Baron Holland, wickedly recorded in his *Foreign Reminiscences* that Altamira "was the least man I ever saw



30 Goya. *Francisco Javier de Larrumbe*, 1787. Oil on canvas, 44½ × 30¼ in. (113 × 77 cm). Banco de España, Madrid

in society, and smaller than many dwarfs exhibited for money.”¹¹ Goya partly deflected attention from Altamira’s height by showing him seated, but the perceptibly odd relationship between the count and the surrounding furniture nonetheless betrays one of the chief characteristics by which the sitter was known at court. If Altamira’s height was seen as a subject ripe for ridicule, his titles easily elevated him to the peak of Spanish aristocracy. As Baron Holland’s wife, Elizabeth Vassall Fox, marveled in her *Spanish Journal* on Tuesday, April 12, 1803: “He [Altamira] is remarkable for the lowness of his stature, and the greatness of his family. He unites seven *sombreros*, seven *grandesses* &c. The King rallied him for being ‘*muy pequeño*’, upon which he replied that at Court he was so, but in his states he was ‘*muy grande*.’”¹²

Vicente Joaquín Osorio de Moscoso y Guzmán Fernández de Córdoba (1756–1816), conde de Altamira, was the son of Ventura Osorio de Moscoso (died 1776) and María de la Concepción Guzmán (died 1803). Upon his father’s death, he inherited a string of impressive titles, many descended from a single famous ancestor, Diego Felipez de Guzmán, marqués de Leganés (1580–1655), a Spanish politician, army general, and art collector. Altamira,

in fact, held more titles than any other nobleman in Spain, including seven dukedoms, eleven marquisates, and seventeen counties. He was duque de Sessa, Baena, Maqueda, Aznalcóllar, Sanlúcar la Mayor, and Medina de las Torres; marqués de Astorga, Ayamonte, Velada, Villamanrique, and Leganés; and conde de Altamira, Trastámara, Cabra, and Nieva. Often known as the marqués de Astorga, he signed documents as “el marqués conde duque.” Apart from being one of the directors of the Banco de San Carlos, Altamira held degrees from the Universidad de Granada and was a councilor of state (*consejero de estado*), a knight of the Golden Fleece (*caballero del toisón*), and lieutenant general (*alférez mayor*) of Castille and Madrid. He was also a member of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. Goya’s first documented link to Altamira is the payment in April 1787 for the portrait now at the Banco de España, but it is quite likely that the painter had come into contact with the Altamira family before that time. They would probably have known each other at the Academia de San Fernando, for example, and it is possible that they had met through the Infante Don Luis, who in the late 1770s, as noted above, was a guest in the Altamira Palace at Velada. In fact, two of the infante’s daughters—María Teresa (see





fig. 20) and María Luisa—were born there, underscoring the close ties between the two families.

The Altamira family owned numerous properties across Spain, including a palace in the square of Santa María la Blanca in Seville (fig. 36), seldom used in the eighteenth century, and another in Madrid, on the calle de la Flor Alta, which was their primary residence (fig. 37).¹³ The latter was on a site previously occupied by the palace of the marqués de Leganés, built in the 1640s by the architect Juan Gómez de Mora. In the summer of 1772 Altamira commissioned a new palace from Ventura Rodríguez, who was charged with rebuilding it as a single structure that would fill a full block between calle San Bernardo, calle de la Cueva (now calle Marqués de Leganés), calle de Ceres (now calle de los Libreros), and calle de la Flor Alta. Modeled principally on the Palacio Real, the building was to be structured around a large courtyard, with a monumental staircase and chapel as focal points on each side (fig. 38; see also illustrations on inside covers). By the time Rodríguez died, in 1785, only the facade on calle de la Flor Alta and a portion of the courtyard and staircase had been built. The architect's nephew

31 Goya. *Vicente Joaquín Osorio de Moscoso y Guzmán, Conde de Altamira*, 1787. Oil on canvas, 69⁵/₈ × 42¹/₂ in. (177 × 108 cm). Banco de España, Madrid

32 Goya. *King Charles III*, 1787. Oil on canvas, 76³/₈ × 43¹/₄ in. (194 × 110 cm). Banco de España, Madrid

33 Goya. *Francisco de Cabarrús*, 1788. Oil on canvas, 82⁵/₈ × 50 in. (210 × 127 cm). Banco de España, Madrid



and pupil, Manuel Martín Rodríguez, continued his uncle's plans, but the palace was never completed as intended. It was said at the time that the king grew jealous of the plans for the Altamira Palace and, worrying that it could overshadow the Palacio Real, put a stop to it. More likely construction was halted because of financial concerns. In any event, Ventura Rodríguez may be yet another link between Goya and the Altamira family, for while he was at work on the palace at calle de la Flor Alta he was also building the palace for the Infante Don Luis at Arenas de San Pedro (fig. 35).

The Altamira family—who later owned Goya's portrait of Rodríguez painted in 1784 for María Teresa de Vallabriga (fig. 39)—displayed its impressive and celebrated collection of paintings in the Madrid palace.¹⁴ Most of the Old Masters had been inherited from the illustrious collection of the marqués de Leganés through his daughter Inés Méxia de Guzmán, who had married Gaspar de Moscoso, an Altamira ancestor. Leganés owned more than a thousand paintings, a collection he assembled in Flanders and Italy, possibly on the advice of Rubens. It included works attributed to Italian painters (Leonardo da Vinci, Bronzino, Giulio Romano, Correggio, Titian, Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese, Federico Barocci, Caravaggio, Guido Reni, Guercino, Luca Giordano,

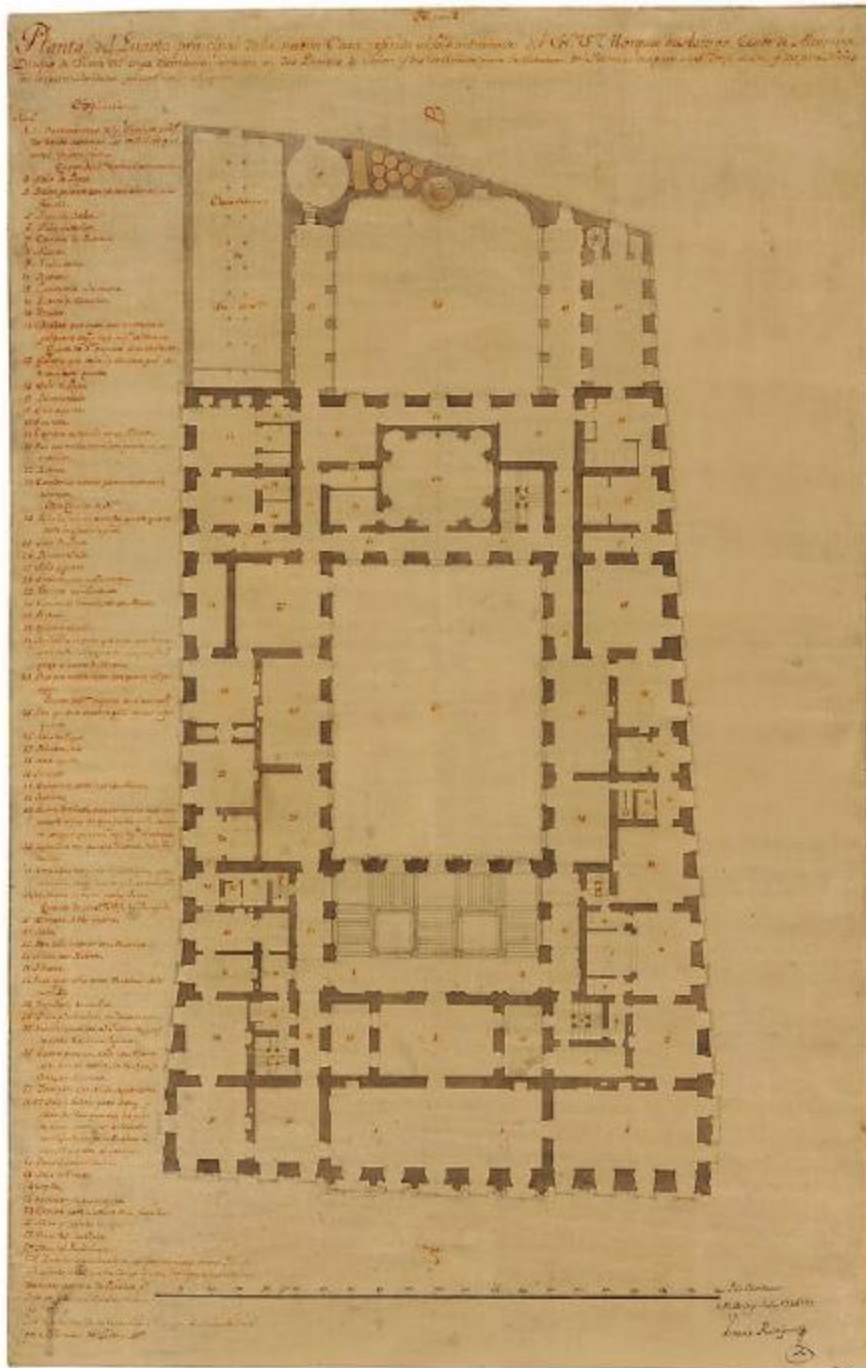
LEFT TO RIGHT, TOP TO BOTTOM:
34 Ruins of Altamira Palace, Velada

35 Palacio de la Mosquera, Arenas de San Pedro

36 Altamira Palace, Seville

37 Altamira Palace, Madrid





38 Ventura Rodríguez (Spanish, Ciempozuelos 1717–1785 Madrid). *Plan of Altamira Palace*. Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid (A-1348)

39 Goya. *Ventura Rodríguez*, 1784. Oil on canvas, 41 3/4 × 31 7/8 in. (106 × 81 cm). Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NM4574)

and Carlo Maratti) as well as Flemish (Frans Snyder, Rubens, and Van Dyck) and Spanish artists (Velázquez, Ribera, Zurbarán, and Murillo).¹⁵ To this extraordinary inheritance, the count also seems to have added contemporary art. An inventory compiled after his death lists, to cite just a few works, a *Nativity* by Maella; a *Virgin and Child*, another *Nativity*, and a *Saint Paul* by Castillo; a *Virgin* by Vicente López; and a *Holy Family* and *Nativity* by Mengs.¹⁶ About 1775 Altamira also commissioned from Paret y Alcázar a sedan chair (*silla de manos*) decorated with mythological scenes (fig. 40). In addition, the family inventories record a series of portraits of the count, including one by Luis Egidio Meléndez (fig. 41) and an equestrian portrait by Antonio Carnicero of 1783. A single room of the Altamira Palace in Madrid, according to that reckoning, contained “eight portraits of the family of the count of Altamira.”

Altamira’s first wife, María Ignacia Álvarez de Toledo y Gonzaga (1757–1795), was the daughter of Antonio Álvarez de Toledo, marqués de Villafranca del Bierzo (1716–1773), and María Antonia Gonzaga y Caracciolo (1735–1801). The couple married in 1774 and had seven children: Vicente Isabel, Juan María, Manuel María (the Red Boy), María Agustina, Josef Fernando, María de la Encarnación, and Francisco Javier. After the countess’s death Altamira married María Magdalena Fernández de Córdoba, who gave him an eighth child, Joaquín Manuel. It was likely on the



40 Luis Paret y Alcázar
(Spanish, Madrid 1746–1799
Madrid). *Sedan chair* (silla de
manos), ca. 1775. Gold, silk,
pine, and oil on panel; H. 78¾ in.
(200 cm). Museo Arqueológico
Nacional, Madrid (S1962)



41 Luis Egidio Meléndez
(Spanish, Naples 1716–1780
Madrid). *Vicente Joaquín Osorio
de Moscoso y Guzmán, Conde de
Altamira*, 1775. Oil on canvas,
44½ × 34¼ in. (113 × 87 cm).
Museo Fundación Lázaro
Galdiano, Madrid (5227)

strength of Goya's success with his portrait of the count for the Banco de San Carlos that Altamira commissioned a group of three additional family portraits from the artist, destined for the palace being built on the calle de la Flor Alta. In one—the painting now in the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan (fig. 5)—the countess is shown full length in an interior, which was possibly intended to evoke the Altamira Palace and some of its lavish furnishings. She sits on a sofa and holds her younger daughter, María Agustina, born February 21, 1787. Judging from the child's age, the portrait was likely painted between the end of 1787 and early 1788. María Ignacia is dressed, like the marquesa de Pontejos (see fig. 24), in the elegant French style of the period, including a pink frock embellished with a pattern of flowers along its bottom (fig. 42). Mother and daughter hold in their hands a small bunch of violets.

Little is known about the condesa de Altamira. She was said to be particularly fond of society events and had a passion for card games, especially faro, and trictrac (related to backgammon). Through her own family María Ignacia was connected to a number of Goya's aristocratic patrons. Her mother, the marquesa de Villafranca, sat for Goya around the time of her daughter's death, in 1795 (fig. 43). More significantly, her older brother, José Álvarez de Toledo y Gonzaga (1756–1796), had married the duquesa de Alba, María del Pilar Teresa Cayetana de Silva Álvarez de Toledo

(1762–1802), and the couple was among Goya's most important patrons at the turn of the century.

Following the example of his paintings for the Infante Don Luis, Goya produced for the conde and condesa de Altamira portraits of two of their sons, Vicente Isabel and Manuel María. Vicente, the eldest and the heir to his father's titles (fig. 44), was born in Madrid on November 19, 1777. According to a tradition that seems to have been established in the family, he was given the title "conde de Trastámara." An inscription on the portrait states that the boy is "of the age of ten years," in which case it dates to 1787–88, or about the same time as the portrait of his mother and sister. Goya placed his sitter in a blank space, presumably an interior, but conspicuously devoid of any specific detail. As heir, Vicente was portrayed as an adult and appears for all intents and purposes as a miniature of his father. He wears a luxurious jacket, waistcoat, and breeches of velvet, painted with a mustard and lilac *cangiante* effect, and holds a tricorne hat under his arm. The hilt of his sword and the buckles of his breeches and shoes are all studded with small diamonds. The boy's wig is nearly identical to that worn by his father, and he slips his hand in his waistcoat in the same manner as well. The small dog was added after the figure had been finished. Goya included dogs in many of his portraits from the 1780s (see figs. 20, 23, 24), but here he shows the animal eagerly approaching his master rather than standing or sleeping at his feet. The artist likely was aiming to leaven the official atmosphere of the portrait with a touch of familiarity. In doing so, he managed to capture the subtle contrast between the pomp and circumstance expected from the Altamira heir and his sitter's essence as a ten-year-old child. Dignified and deeply touching, the portrait is a profoundly charged projection of the future. After his father's death, on August 26, 1816, Vicente Isabel

42 Detail of fig. 5



43 Goya. *María Antonia Gonzaga, Marquesa de Villafranca*, ca. 1795. Oil on canvas, $34\frac{1}{4} \times 28\frac{3}{8}$ in. (87 × 72 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (Po2447)

44 Goya. *Vicente Osorio de Moscoso, Conde de Trastámara*, 1787–88. Oil on canvas, $53\frac{1}{8} \times 43\frac{1}{4}$ in. (135 × 110 cm). Private collection



took over his titles and properties. On February 12, 1798, he married María del Carmen Ponce de León y Carvajal, marquesa de Castromonte and duquesa de Montemar (born 1780), and the couple had six children: the heir, Vicente Pío Osorio de Moscoso y Ponce de León (1801–1864), and Carlos, María Antonia, María Manuela, José, and Mariano. Vicente died in Madrid on August 31, 1837.

Vicente's brother Manuel was born in April 1784 and baptized in the parish church of San Martín on April 11 of that year. Seven years younger than Vicente, he was given by his father the minor title "señor de Ginés," which appears in the inscription at the bottom of Goya's portrait (fig. 2). Manuel's life was not long; he died on June 12, 1792, at the age of eight, and was buried in the Convento de la Victoria in Madrid. In its informality and immediacy, Goya's portrait of Manuel is notably different from the other images of the Altamira family. One reason is that Manuel, as a younger son, did not have to appear before the world as the heir and future titleholder. Free to depict the boy as a child, Goya did just that, and in the process produced one of our most iconic images of childhood. Unlike his elder brother, for example, Manuel wears no wig; his hair is shown just as it would have grown naturally. He is also garbed



EL EX.^{mo} S.^{ra} D.^{no} VICENTE OSORIO CONDE DE TRASTAMARA. D EDAD D DIEZ AÑOS. *Coya, f.^o*

in a red jumpsuit, fastened at the waist by a white sash, a fashionable outfit commonly worn by children of the Spanish aristocracy. The boy seen from the back in the tapestry cartoon for *Autumn—The Vintage*, painted only a year before, wears the same type of ensemble, in his case green and pink (fig. 45). A tapestry cartoon from around 1787, *Boy on a Ram* (fig. 46), shows another boy in the outfit, this time made out of a striped fabric and cinched with a pink sash. It was clearly a popular mode of children's dress during the second half of the 1780s in Spain.

Manuel is accompanied in his portrait by a group of animals: three cats, goldfinches in a cage, and a magpie tethered on a string. The combination of boy and animals has given rise to all manner of iconographic readings of the painting, some more fanciful than others. A common interpretation focuses on the juxtaposition of cats and birds. Claus Virch, in 1967, considered that the portrait's "motion is suspended, but one can easily imagine all hell breaking loose in the next instant, when those monstrously intent cats, foreboding evil, jump at the magpie and tear apart the fragile birdcage, creating disorder and early sorrow. . . . By introducing the dark forces of evil Goya gave poignancy to his portrayal of innocent youth."¹⁷ This reading of the boundary between innocence and evil, of the fleeting nature of youth, is understandable given our knowledge of Manuel's short life. Many writers, in fact, assume that the portrait was posthumous. John F. Moffitt, for one, sees the portrait as an elaborate memento mori and the moralizing iconography as related to that of emblem books, such as Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco's *Emblemas morales* of 1610.¹⁸ The cats thus threaten the future of Manuel's innocence and symbolize his early death, while the caged birds refer to the "prison of life." William L. Pressly also interpreted the "savage" cats as intruding on the world of innocence, but he pushed the reading further by linking the goldfinches and the magpie to Christian iconography.¹⁹ In this way, the young—and dead—Manuel Osorio is linked to the imagery of the Christ Child. For Victor Chan, the painting is a "forthright symbolic portrait about human destiny," in which the three cats represent Fortune, Time, and the Fates. In this analysis, the birdcage was painted by Goya to signify the protection of childhood through confinement, and the magpie is a symbol of Destiny, dependent on Fortune.²⁰

Yet such improbable interpretations do not take into consideration several important aspects of the painting, most notably its original context as one among a larger group of Altamira family portraits. It is altogether unlikely, for example, that the portrait of Manuel was either posthumous or in any way implies his early death, for in an age of high infant mortality it was unheard of for families to commission portraits of children who had already died. And even if a posthumous portrait was commissioned from Goya, surely the painter would have represented Manuel as an

45 Detail of fig. 26



46 Goya. *Boy on a Ram*, 1786–87. Oil on canvas, 50 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 44 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (127.2 × 112.1 cm). The Art Institute of Chicago; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Brooks McCormick (1979.479)



eight-year-old, his age when he died. Why would Goya—or any other painter, for that matter—decide instead to represent him as a three- to four-year-old? The only reasonable explanation is that Manuel was indeed three to four years old when Goya portrayed him and, by extension, that the painting dates to about 1787–88, the same years when Goya painted the other three portraits of the Altamira family. The painting's iconography cannot, therefore, be related in any way to concepts related to death or to the loss of the boy's innocence. It must, instead, be a picture that addresses Manuel's youth and childhood.

The tradition of portraits of children in which the sitter is accompanied by animals was a long-standing one in Spain and throughout the rest of Europe, and it would have been well known to Goya. Velázquez, in his portrait of Felipe Próspero (fig. 47), prince of Asturias and heir to King Philip IV, has the boy dressed in a child's gown decorated with good luck charms sent as gifts by Pope Innocent X. He stands next to a



47 Velázquez (Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez) (Spanish, Seville 1599–1660 Madrid). *Felipe Próspero, Prince of Asturias*, 1659. Oil on canvas, 50³/₈ × 39 in. (128 × 99 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna (GG-319)



48 Mengs. *Archduchess Maria Teresa of Austria*, 1771. Oil on canvas, 56³/₄ × 41³/₈ in. (144 × 105 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (Po2193)

small velvet chair, which reminds the viewer of the young prince's right to the throne but, in an enchanting touch, also provides a comfortable perch for Felipe Próspero's delightful pet spaniel. In Mengs's portrait of Archduchess Maria Teresa of Austria (fig. 48), the young girl is similarly posed next to a cage containing a large grey parrot. William Hogarth's *The Graham Children* (fig. 49) depicts the grandchildren of Daniel Graham, apothecary to King George II of England. The children, who fill an elegant interior, are accompanied by a caged bird that is threatened, in a comic vignette, by an approaching cat, which hides behind the back of a chair. The bird caged in *The Graham Children* is a goldfinch (or European goldfinch, *Carduelis carduelis*), the same species that appears in Goya's portrait of Manuel. Goldfinches were kept in cages by families because of their beautiful singing, but they could also be easily taught to perform tricks. Carel Fabritius's famous painting of a captive goldfinch (1654, Mauritshuis, The Hague) reminds us that such birds were popular pets not only in England and Spain but in Holland as well. A large cage holding goldfinches such as the one in Manuel's portrait would have been a common sight in European households with children. Taking this into consideration, the most recent (and sensible) reading of the fauna in Goya's portrait is by Manuela Mena, who links it to Enlightenment theories about the education of children.²¹ For example, just as Luis María de Borbón was shown studying geography (fig. 19), an important subject for young aristocrats, Manuel's ownership of

pets—cats, goldfinches, and a magpie—testifies to the Enlightenment belief that children would greatly benefit by being in contact with nature. By demonstrating control over his own little menagerie, the young Manuel is showing that he is already in the process of learning about adult life.

Cats, too, were common pets in Spanish households. Given their mischievous and instinctively predatory nature, it is understandable that the three cats in the portrait have been seen as posing a risk to the birds (fig. 50). And while Goya may very well have wanted to allow for an undertone of danger in portraying the three cats as so keenly intent on Manuel's pet magpie, it is far from clear that they were meant to be read as a malevolent presence. Fighting cats appear in one of Goya's tapestry cartoons, where they are perched at the top of a wall, backs arched and teeth bared (fig. 51), but they were likely meant to be comic and entertaining rather than sinister in connotation. More commonly, the three cats in the portrait of Manuel have been connected

49 William Hogarth (British, London 1697–1764 London). *The Graham Children*, 1742. Oil on canvas, 63¼ × 71¼ in. (160.5 × 181 cm). The National Gallery, London; presented by Lord Duveen through the Art Fund, 1934 (NG4756)







to the trio of creatures in Goya's *Saint Francis Borgia at the Deathbed of an Impenitent* (fig. 52), one of two altarpieces he painted for the duquesa de Osuna for the Borgia Chapel in Valencia Cathedral (and for which he was paid 30,000 *reales* in October 1788). According to a contemporary life of Francis Borgia, the saint was present at the deathbed of a man who refused the last Christian sacraments. As the man grew more stubborn, the image of Christ on the crucifix in Borgia's hand, "feeling exasperated, detached its nailed right arm, and placing its hand in that profusely bleeding lacerated wound in its chest, withdrew a fist filled with blood, and hurled it with indignation at the frowning, denigrated face, saying 'Since you scorn this blood, which was shed for your glory, let it serve for your eternal unhappiness.' Then that pitiful man, with an awful, blasphemous shout directed against Jesus Christ, gave up his soul, convulsed by a horrid moan, and it was turned over to the infamous ministers of fire and fright."²² Goya's representation of the scene in his Valencia altarpiece is faithful to that account. The "ministers of fire and fright" lurking behind the bed appear ready to spirit away the soul of the deceased. But while the grouping is somewhat reminiscent of the three cats in question, the presence of these monstrous creatures is altogether different, and it is clear that they are there for a specific reason, one quite unrelated to that of the mischievous felines in Manuel's portrait.

The third animal, a magpie (*Pica pica*), is a species traditionally associated in popular culture with its skill at "stealing" objects. Like goldfinches and cats, magpies were common pets in European households. By placing his calling card in the magpie's beak Goya effectively signed his painting, but he also referenced a widely understood characteristic of the bird. It is interesting—and wholly appropriate—that Goya felt at liberty to include this and the other details of animals in the portrait of the younger son of the Altamira family but not in the more official ones of his mother and sister or his elder brother.

50 Detail of fig. 2

51 Goya. *Two Cats Fighting*, 1786–87. Oil on canvas, 22¼ × 77⅜ in. (56.5 × 196.5 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (P06323)

52 Goya. *Saint Francis Borgia at the Deathbed of an Impenitent*, 1788. Oil on canvas, 137¾ × 118⅞ in. (350 × 300 cm). Valencia Cathedral



53 Agustín Esteve y Marques
(Spanish, Valencia 1753–ca. 1820
Madrid). *Vicente Joaquín Osorio
de Moscoso y Guzmán, Conde de
Altamira*, ca. 1790–95. Oil on
canvas. Universidad de Granada



According to an inventory compiled in March 1864, Goya's portraits of the countess and her daughter, Vicente Isabel, and Manuel were hung in the Altamira Palace alongside other family portraits by a number of different artists.²³ Among them, according to the inventory, were the portrait of the count attributed to Luis Egidio Meléndez, noted above, and two others by Agustín Esteve, one of which was apparently a pendant to a portrait of the countess. Another portrait of the countess is attributed in the inventory to the "school of Monsieur David." Unfortunately, none of these other paintings survives except for the Meléndez portrait. Another portrait of the count by Esteve is currently at the Universidad de Granada (fig. 53), while an image of the countess by him was in the collection of José Calvo in Madrid in 1957.²⁴

Agustín Esteve y Marques, a painter from Valencia, is first documented in Madrid, at the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, in 1772. From the early 1780s he collaborated with Goya and became a well-known portraitist of the aristocracy in Madrid. He is known to have produced at least fourteen portraits for the Osuna family and others for the Alba.²⁵ The Altamira inventory makes it clear that Esteve painted a series of portraits for the family, probably around the time when Goya was also working for them. Apart from the three portraits of the count and countess,

the inventory lists five portraits of children by Esteve, only one of which can be traced; these included a portrait of the daughter of the duque de Montemar with a small dog and a double portrait of Vicente Isabel and his sister María Agustina. The portrait of Francisco Javier, another brother of Vicente and Manuel, is described in the inventory as representing the “Conde de Trastámara,” suggesting that this may actually be a portrait of Vicente and that the compiler of the inventory recorded the wrong first name. Another portrait by Esteve of a “girl with a tambourine in her hand, seated on a cushion” was paired with that of the conde de Trastámara.

The remaining portrait by Esteve is described in the inventory as “El Señor Don Juan María Osorio Álvarez de Toledo,” the middle brother of Vicente Isabel and Manuel, who was born on August 28, 1780. Like Manuel, Juan María died at a young age.²⁶ He is the sitter named in an inscription on a portrait now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, sometimes referred to as the “Boy with a Linnet” (fig. 54). Acquired in 1946 from Duveen as a Goya, the painting, substantially damaged, was restored on several occasions when it belonged to the dealer. Clearly not by Goya, it is more likely the work of Esteve and, quite possibly, is the portrait described in the 1864 inventory. Juan María is posed in a manner not dissimilar to Manuel in Goya’s portrait, and his outfit is also comparable, albeit in blue with a pink sash. He stands next to a table covered in a yellow tablecloth, and his hat rests on the floor. It has been argued that this portrait, too, is posthumous, but again it is entirely unclear why the count would have commissioned Esteve to portray a boy who was already dead. More likely, the portrait of Juan María, together with some of the other portraits by Esteve of the Altamira family, may predate the Goya portraits and were already in the palace by the time Goya was commissioned to paint Vicente Isabel and Manuel. By 1787–88 Juan María was already dead, so there would have been no need for Goya to include an image of the boy in his series. Esteve must have painted Juan María when he was about four or five years old, or around 1785, possibly soon before the child died. The hat on the ground has been read as symbolic, as has the linnet, a bird usually associated with purity and holiness and therefore appropriate for an image of a dead child. The image of the bird in the painting is particularly damaged, however, and it is unclear if it is indeed a linnet (*Carduelis cannabina*), as is usually assumed. Nonetheless, the combination of an open cage with the inscription “DIOS” (God) over it and a bird flying out could be connected to the idea of the child’s death. Perhaps Juan María died while the portrait was being painted, in which case it would make sense for the painter to add the details of the open cage and flying bird to symbolize the return of the boy’s soul to his creator. The inscription at the bottom of the picture, which identifies Juan María and states that he “died in . . .” (the right side of the painting was cut down), may have been added when the other portraits were painted, part of a long-standing tradition with Spanish family portraits. More important, Esteve’s portrait of Juan María clearly predates Goya’s of Manuel and therefore would have been a model for Goya to follow in deciding how to represent the Altamira children.

In about 1785 Goya had started to work for the aristocratic Osuna family, who remained some of his most important patrons throughout his career. He produced a



EL S^{to} D. JUAN MARIA OSORIO ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO. NACIO EN 28 DAG OSTODI 1780. Y FALLECIO EN

significant number of paintings for them, including portraits of the duke and duchess and, according to an invoice tendered in May 1788, three portraits of the Osuna children. These portraits, sadly all lost, must have been painted at almost the same time as his portraits of the Altamira boys. That same year Goya also portrayed the entire Osuna family in a single canvas (fig. 55). The pinnacle of Goya's early portraiture, the painting is a remarkably different kind of grouping than what we see in the earlier *Family of the Infante Don Luis* (fig. 21). Here we are confronted by a modern—that is, enlightened—family, in which the parents inhabit the same space as their children and the stiffness of official court portraiture yields to the tender sentiments of parenthood. Even though the image is clearly staged, the duke stands next to his seated wife in a natural pose, and the couple is surrounded by their four children. The duchess protectively holds her daughter Joaquina next to her, while the duke holds Josefa Manuela by the hand. The two boys, Francisco de Borja and Pedro de Alcántara, are dressed in the same type of outfit Manuel Osorio is portrayed in, here in green and pink. They are also shown with some of their toys—a cane used as a hobbyhorse and a miniature carriage—and the family is accompanied by their pet dogs, shown crouched next to the children.

54 Esteve y Marques. *Juan María Osorio*, ca. 1785. Oil on canvas, $47\frac{1}{4} \times 33\frac{1}{8}$ in. (120 × 84.1 cm). Cleveland Museum of Art; Gift of the Hanna Fund (1946.431)

55 Goya. *The Family of the Duke of Osuna*, 1788. Oil on canvas, $88\frac{5}{8} \times 67\frac{3}{8}$ in. (225 × 171 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (P00739)



IT HAD TAKEN Goya fifteen years to evolve from a provincial artist from Saragossa into the treasured portraitist of the Spanish royal family and aristocracy. In a small self-portrait probably painted about 1790 (fig. 56), it is the latter Goya we glimpse: the forty-five-year-old artist who was now regularly employed by the king. He confronts the viewer in a confident way, dressed in the current Spanish fashion—as a *majo*—and is at work in his studio on a large upright canvas, possibly a portrait. He looks out at us secure in the knowledge that he is exactly where he had planned to be when he first left Saragossa for Italy.

After the series of portraits Goya made for the Altamira, there is no evidence that he ever worked for the family again. Yet he soon found other noble patrons—apart from the royals—including the dukes of Osuna and Alba. Between 1792 and 1793 Goya was struck by a near-fatal illness and left entirely deaf. His works subsequently changed dramatically in temperament. In 1800 he executed the largest group portrait he would ever paint, *The Family of Charles IV* (fig. 57), one of the most celebrated portraits in Western art. The king is shown surrounded by his family, and in the left corner, in the background, we see the artist at work, emerging from the shadows of a room

in the Palacio Real. It is a majestic portrait, with the king and queen accompanied by eleven members of the royal family, each dressed in court finery, insignia, and jewels. At the center is the youngest prince, the six-year-old Infante Francisco de Paula, his small hand held by his mother, Queen María Luisa, and whose red outfit (minus the royal decorations) is almost identical to that worn by Manuel Osorio.

The Family of Charles IV opened a new century for Spain, a period in the country's history that would prove exceptionally traumatic. On the horizon was the Napoleonic invasion, a harbinger of misfortune for not only the royal family but all of the Spanish aristocracy. Shortly before her death, Laure Junot, duchesse d'Abrantès, wife of a Napoleonic general in Spain, reminisced about the sharp vicissitudes of the Altamira family. With the loss of many of the American colonies in the early nineteenth century, wrote the duchess, a number of Spanish aristocratic families saw their wealth evaporate amid the cataclysm of nineteenth-century Europe.²⁷ By the time Vicente Joaquín died, in 1816, the Altamira family had lost most of its money and was nearly bankrupt. Vicente Isabel and Vicente Pío, the count's son and grandson, respectively, dealt with the financial crisis by selling most of their art

56 Goya. *Self-Portrait in the Studio*, ca. 1790. Oil on canvas, 16½ × 11 in. (42 × 28 cm). Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid (1166)





57 Goya. *The Family of Charles IV*, 1800. Oil on canvas, 110¼ × 132¼ in. (280 × 336 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (P00726)

collection and, eventually, the majority of their properties. The family portraits by Goya and Esteve, however, remained in the Altamira Palace in Madrid, and at the time of Vicente Pío's death, in 1864, were still listed among the contents of the building for which they were originally painted in 1787–88. Goya's portrait of the count likewise remained in the building for which it was commissioned, the Banco de España, but his portraits of the count's wife and children and Esteve's portrait of Juan María were dispersed during the second half of the nineteenth century. And yet there awaited one last twist of fortune for the Altamira family. Between 1911 and 1931, through a series of coincidences, three of the four Goya portraits of the family and one by Esteve were taken across the Atlantic to America, where all four remain treasured works in public and private collections. They are reunited here at long last.

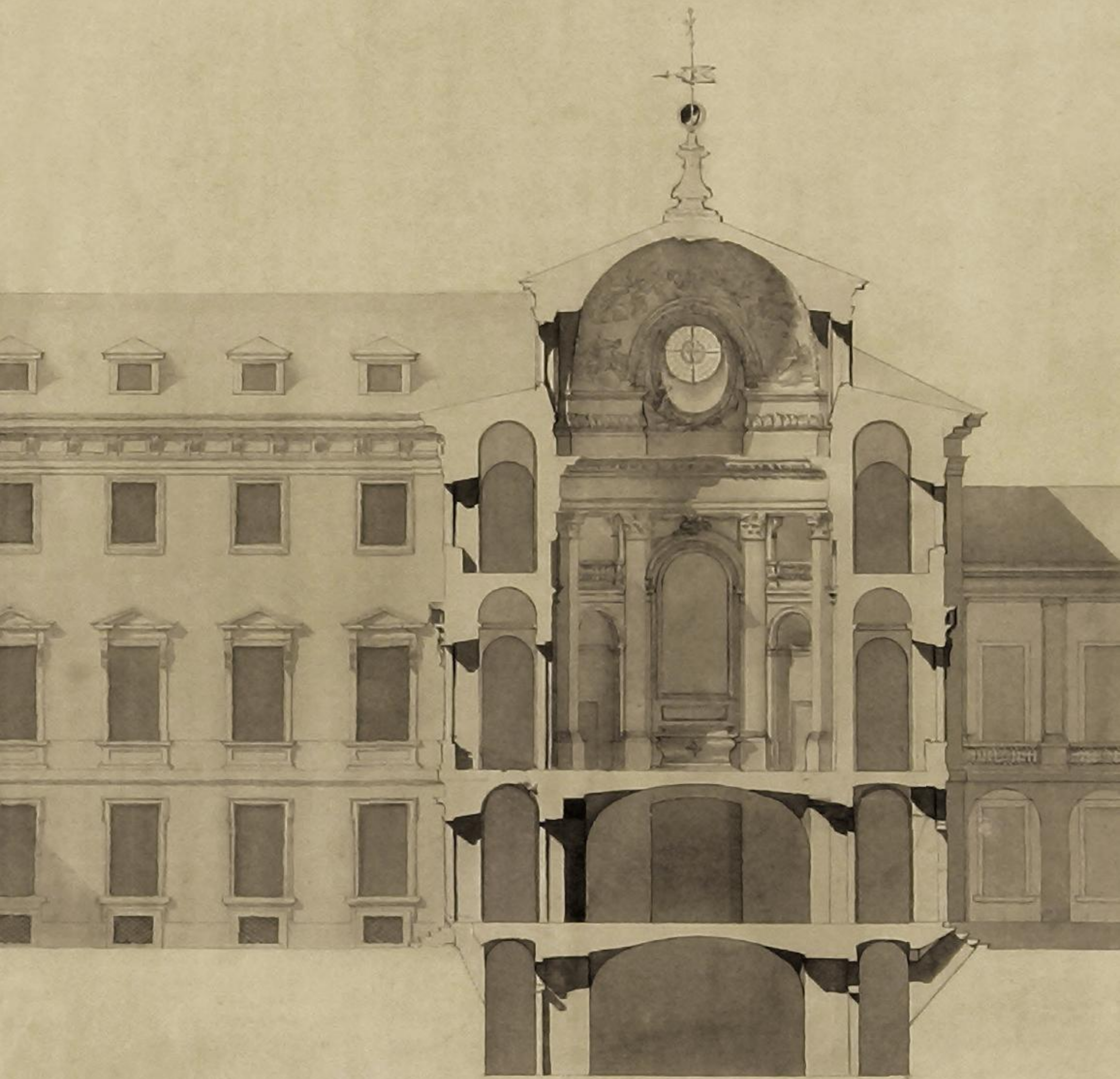
NOTES

- 1 For a comprehensive account of the fortunes of the "Red Boy," see Reva Wolf, "Goya's 'Red Boy': The Making of a Celebrity," in *Art in Spain and the Hispanic World: Essays in Honor of Jonathan Brown*, edited by Sarah Schroth (London, 2010), pp. 145–73.
- 2 August L. Mayer, *Francisco de Goya* (1923; London and Toronto, 1924), p. 47.
- 3 Francisco de Goya, *Cartas a Martín Zapater*, edited by Mercedes Águeda and Xavier de Salas (Madrid, 2003), p. 231.
- 4 For the tapestries, see especially Janis A. Tomlinson, *Francisco Goya: The Tapestry Cartoons and Early Career at the Court of Madrid* (Cambridge and New York, 1989), and José Luis Sancho, *El Palacio de Carlos III en el Pardo* (Madrid, 2002).
- 5 Goya, *Cartas a Martín Zapater*, p. 72.
- 6 Tomlinson, *Francisco Goya: The Tapestry Cartoons*, p. 2.
- 7 Goya, *Cartas a Martín Zapater*, p. 156.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 158.
- 9 For Goya and the portraits of the Infante Don Luis, see, most recently, Juan José Junquera y Mato et al., *Goya y el infante Don Luis de Borbón: Homenaje a la "Infanta" doña María Teresa de Vallabriga*, exh. cat., Patio de la Infanta, Saragossa (Saragossa, 1996), and Francisco Calvo Seraller et al., *Goya y el infante Don Luis, el exilio y el reino: Arte y ciencia en la época de la Ilustración española*, exh. cat., Palacio Real, Madrid (Madrid, 2012).
- 10 For the relationship between Goya and the Banco de San Carlos, see Luis G. De Valdeavellano, "Las relaciones de Goya con el Banco de San Carlos," *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* 36 (1928), pp. 56–65.
- 11 Henry Richard Vassall Fox, 3rd Baron Holland, *Foreign Reminiscences* (London, 1850), p. 146.
- 12 Elizabeth Vassall Fox, Baroness Holland, *The Spanish Journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland* (London, 1910), p. 38. The Altamira, among the grandees of Spain, took pride in their prerogative of being allowed not to remove their hats in the presence of the Spanish monarch.
- 13 For the history of the two palaces, see María Teresa Fernández Talaya, *Palacio de Altamira: IED Madrid, Istituto Europeo di Design* (Madrid, 2006), and Diego Oliva Alonso, ed., *La restauración del palacio de Altamira* (Seville, 2005).
- 14 In a March 1864 inventory of the Altamira paintings compiled by Ventura Castelar y Saco, the portrait appears as "15. 415. Retrato de D. Ventura Rodríguez medio cuerpo tamaño natural firmado en un targeton de F.co Goya. Alto 3.-8. Ancho 2-9½ Marco dorado 8000 / 7000." Sección Nobleza, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Toledo, Baena, 291, fol. 3r.
- 15 In the 1820s and 1830s, after the Altamira family went bankrupt, a large part of the collection of Old Masters was sold at auction at Mr. Stanley's in London on June 1, 1827, May 24, 1828, and June 29, 1833.
- 16 The inventory was taken between January 7 and February 8, 1817. Sección Nobleza, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Toledo, Astorga, 2; transcribed by José Juan Pérez Preciado, "El marqués de Leganés y las artes" (Ph.D. diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2008), vol. 2, doc. 18, pp. 916–26.
- 17 Claus Virch, *Francisco Goya* (New York, 1967), p. 35.
- 18 John F. Moffitt, "Goya's Emblematic Portrait of Don Manuel María Osorio de Moscoso y Álvarez de Toledo," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 56 (1987), pp. 145–56.
- 19 William L. Pressly, "Goya's Don Manuel Osorio de Zúñiga: A Christological Allegory," *Apollo* 135 (1992), pp. 12–20.
- 20 Victor Chan, "Time and Fortune in Three Early Portraits by Goya," *Arts Magazine* 55 (1980), pp. 107–17.
- 21 Manuela Mena in Javier Portús et al., *The Spanish Portrait from El Greco to Picasso*, exh. cat., Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (London, 2004), pp. 356–57, no. 53.
- 22 Andrew Schulz, "The Expressive Body in Goya's Saint Francis Borgia at the Deathbed of an Impenitent," *The Art Bulletin* 80, no. 4 (December 1998), pp. 666, 668.
- 23 For the inventory, which was compiled March 13–14, 1864, after the death of Vicente Pío Osorio de Moscoso y Ponce de León (Vicente Isabel's son), see Sección Nobleza, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Toledo, Baena, 291. Transcribed in Pérez Preciado, "El marqués de Leganés y las artes," vol. 2, doc. 29, pp. 929–49.
- 24 For the two portraits, see Martin S. Soria, *Agustín Esteve y Goya* (Valencia, 1957), pp. 99–100, nos. 40, 42.
- 25 For Esteve, see Martin S. Soria, "Agustín Esteve and Goya," *The Art Bulletin* 25, no. 3 (September 1943), pp. 239–66, n.p. errata, and Soria, *Agustín Esteve y Goya*.
- 26 Documents prove he died on October 18, 1785, at the age of five. For the date, see an unpublished letter from Mary Crawford Volk to Alan Chong, July 23, 1992, in the curatorial files of the Cleveland Museum of Art.
- 27 "Ces fortunes immenses furent donc grandement réduites, et si l'on y ajoute la révolte des Amériques, où quelques-uns des grands avaient la plus grande partie de leur fortune, comme par exemple le comte d'Altamira, dont la naissance, l'illustration des alliances, l'immense fortune le rendaient l'un des seigneurs les plus haut placés de l'Espagne, le comte d'Altamira s'est trouvé sans pain pendant un moment." Laure Junot, duchesse d'Abrantès, *Souvenirs d'une ambassade et d'un séjour en Espagne et en Portugal, de 1808 à 1811*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1837), vol. 1, p. 118.

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109 110 120 130 140 150 160 170 180 190 200 Pies Castellanos.

